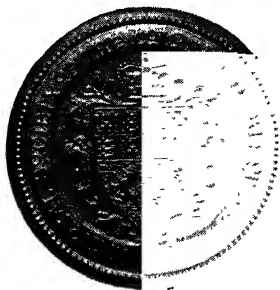


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PUBLICATIONS OF THE PENNSYLVANIA SOCIETY OF  
THE COLONIAL DAMES OF AMERICA—IV



*Church Music and Musical Life  
in Pennsylvania  
In the Eighteenth Century*

IN THREE VOLUMES  
(Originally proposed for two volumes)

PREPARED BY  
THE COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

Volume II

PHILADELPHIA  
PRINTED FOR THE SOCIETY  
1927

On  
THE GLORY OF GOD  
AND  
IN GRATEFUL REMEMBRANCE OF  
OUR ANCESTORS

## COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL RESEARCH

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## FOREWORD TO SECOND VOLUME

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THE foreword of Volume I announced that the work would be complete in two volumes. Since the appearance of that volume the subject matter has so increased that a third has become necessary. The documentary evidence and narrative relating to Philadelphia's proportion in the development of musical history in the eighteenth century, would alone warrant this course.

In this, as in the former volume, the work is an assembling of the present available data from the sources of the past, in the desire to simplify the labor of those who may later continue the critical study of the fundamentals of Pennsylvania music.

*Strafford, Pennsylvania,  
November, 1927*



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FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS  
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF  
THE GERMAN SECTARIES AT GERMANTOWN



Hail to Posterity!  
Hail, future men of Germanopolis!  
Let the young generations yet to be  
Look kindly upon this.  
Think how your fathers left their native land,—  
Dear German-land! O sacred hearths and homes!—  
And, where the wild beast roams,  
In patience planned  
New Forest-homes beyond the mighty sea,  
Then undisturbed and free  
To live as brothers of one family.  
What pains and cares befell,  
What trials and what fears,  
Remember, and wherein we have done well  
Follow our footsteps, men of coming years!  
Where we have failed to do  
Aright, or wisely live,  
Be warned by us, the better way pursue,  
And, knowing we were human, even as you,  
Pity us and forgive!  
Farewell, Posterity!  
Farewell, dear Germany!  
Forevermore farewell!

JOHN G. WHITTIER.\*

\* The verses are from Whittier's *Pennsylvania Pilgrim*; a translation from the Latin of Francis Daniel Pastorius in the Germantown Records, 1688. Addressed to posterity and all who shall continue, or keep up this Land Record.

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS  
AND THE BEGINNINGS OF  
THE GERMAN SECTARIES AT GERMANTOWN

---

FRANCIS DANIEL PASTORIUS, son of Melchior Adam Pastorius, a distinguished German jurist, author and at one time Burgomaster of Windsheim, was born at Sommerhausen, Germany, September 26, 1651. He attended the University of Strassburg, studied also at Bâsle, Altdorf and Jena, where he devoted himself to the law. Two years of travel, part of the time with the young Baron Johann Beneventura von Bodeck, so familiarized him with the modern languages, that when he settled for the practise of law in Frankfort, he was master of Greek, Latin, German, French, Dutch and Italian, with a certain amount of English.

Always of a serious turn of mind, Pastorius became associated with the group of Pietists led by the famous Dr. Philipp Jacob Spener, of Frankfort, Dresden and Berlin, who was a brother-in-law of Pastorius' college friend, Dr. Horb.\* William Penn's visit to the Pietists of Frankfort † was made in the absence of Pastorius, but the prospect of religious freedom in the new world where lives of Christian simplicity might be led in peace and plenty, resulted in the purchase of land in Pennsylvania. The formation of an ideal colony appealed to the young Pastorius, and he was given by the Frankfort Company the

\* Johannes Henricus Horbicus.

† Cf. Oswald Seidensticker, *William Penn's Travels in Holland and Germany*.

"Care and Administration of all their Estates, Lands and Rights." He proved to be the only member of the group who eventually came out to America. He sailed from London, June 10th, 1683, arriving in Philadelphia August 20th, and was received by William Penn with "Affectionate friendship." Plans were laid for the settlement of Germantown, and as agent for the Frankfort Company, Pastorius became the natural leader of the little group of Germans who located in that place.

Among the fellow passengers\* with Pastorius on the ship *America* was the later Deputy Governor Thomas Lloyd, † who, with his family, removed from Wales to join the new settlement of his friend, William Penn. His three charming daughters, whose friendship Pastorius always valued, were commemorated by him in a little poem in English telling of their voyage, and the pursuit of the *America* by a pirate vessel, supposed to carry "cruel enslaving Turks." ‡

Pastorius married, November 25, 1688, Ennecke, daughter of Doctor Heinrich Klostermanns, of the Duchy of Cleves. He became prominent in the early affairs of the Colony; was justice of the peace, county judge, and member of the Pennsylvania Assembly.

The garden of Pastorius in Germantown is said to have contained the aloe, or century plant, presented to

\* Pastorius states that among his eighty fellow passengers were Roman Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Anabaptists, Episcopalians and one Quaker.

† Lloyd, as a student at Jesus College, Oxford, had learned the Continental pronunciation of Latin so that he and Pastorius, the German, could readily understand each other. According to the latter

"Alone with him, I could in Latin then commune:

Which tongue he did pronounce right in our German Way."

‡ Cf. John F. Watson, *Annals of Philadelphia and Pennsylvania in the Olden Time*.

William Penn by John Evelyn, the English diarist and botanist, and in turn given by Penn to Pastorius. This garden was the inspiration of many charming verses written by Pastorius. The noble and idyllic life led by him and his German neighbors has received sympathetic treatment at the hands of the poet Whittier in his *Pennsylvania Pilgrim* : \*

I sing the Pilgrim of a softer clime  
And milder speech than those brave men's who brought  
To the ice and iron of our winter time  
A will as firm, a creed as stern, and wrought  
With one mailed hand, and with the other fought.  
Simply, as fits my theme, in homely rhyme  
I sing the blue-eyed German Spener taught,  
Through whose veiled, mystic faith the Inward Light,  
Steady and still, and easy brightness, shone,  
Transfiguring all things in its radiance white.  
The garland which his meekness never sought  
I bring him; over fields of harvest sown  
With seeds of blessing, now to ripeness grown,  
I bid the sower pass before the reapers' sight.  
JOHN G. WHITTIER.†

Pastorius was the intimate friend of all the strong and well educated men in the colony. He was erudite, but also wise and human, an ideal founder for a new colony. It was these very qualities, however, that aroused jealous opposition within his own company, and led to the later break in his supremacy of management when Daniel Falckner was sent to assume the business supervision of the Frankfort Company's affairs. Then too, Pastorius' friendly and eclectic attitude toward the mystic and sectarian colo-

\* The Complete Poetical Works of John Greenleaf Whittier. Household Edition. Riverside Press, Cambridge, 1892, has, as a foreword to the poem, a brief sketch of Pastorius by Whittier, written in 1872.

† Prelude to the *Pennsylvania Pilgrim*.

nists, and the desire of the leaders of his group in Germany to maintain the supremacy of the Protestant State Churches, brought on the squabbles that distorted his last years. \*

The exact date of his death is not known. His will, which was dated December 26, 1719, described him as "being at present very sick and weak in body," and was probated January 2, 1720. Dr. Seidensticker in an article in *Der Deutsche Pioneer* thus closes his notice of Pastorius: "No tombstone, not even a record of burial indicates where his remains have found their last resting-place. . . . There is no reason to suppose that he was interred in any other place than the Friends' old burial ground in Germantown, on the Main Street above Coulter though the fact is not attested by any definite source of information. There is, however, a tradition in Germantown that, with Kelpius, his *famulus*, Daniel Geissler, and Dr. Christopher Witt, the good Pastorius lies buried in the old Warner graveyard, now partially covered by the chancel of St. Michael's Episcopal Church.

Dr. Learned, in his exhaustive *Life of Pastorius*, says of him: "The German Pioneer and Founder of Germantown was a typical exponent of the learning of his age, and, in spite of the untoward conditions of his lot in the wilds of Pennsylvania, became the most many-sided literary man in America, far out-classing Cotton Mather, his famous Puritan contemporary in the Bay Colony of Massachusetts. The range of Pastorius' literary activity has scarcely found a parallel in America from that time to the present day. In every field he touched he applied the same conscientious effort and skill, whether he was drafting a private document or writing a finished poem to his great friend, the

\* Cf. Samuel W. Pennypacker, *The Settlement of Germantown*, p. 51 *et seq.*

proprietor, William Penn, himself. It can be said truly of him, even of his prose writings as found in the unpretentious form of an encyclopedic dictionary of the *Beehive*:

Nil tetigit, quod non ornavit.

He touched nothing that he did not adorn.

"He was jurist, scrivener, teacher,\* moralist and poet all in one. He never let an opportunity pass, without pointing a moral or teaching a useful lesson. It is perhaps not too much to say that he has never had a superior, if indeed an equal, as moralist in the three hundred years of American history.

"Then, too, the ceaseless activity of his pen is a marvel. . . . Day and night, by the light of the sun and the flickering lard-lamp alike, he was plying his busy pen in writing down all the good thoughts of himself and others for the generations to come after him." †

A brief sketch of Pastorius, by Charles Francis Jenkins, makes mention of the protest against slavery, written by him and presented to the Meeting of the Society of Friends as early as 1688, and adds: "He wrote a primer, which was the first original school book printed in Pennsylvania. Seven of his books were printed, besides which he left forty-three works in manuscript. His *Beehive*, a volume of family and miscellaneous matters, contained a thousand pages of history, agriculture, philosophy, poetry, laws, etc., written in seven languages. His house stood where now is the new Methodist Church, next to 6019 Main Street." ‡

\* He was the school-master of Friends' School in Philadelphia as early as 1697; in Germantown in 1702 and until, probably, 1718.

† Cf. Marion Dexter Learned, Ph.D., L.H.D., *Life of Daniel Francis Pastorius, The Founder of Germantown*. Philadelphia, 1908.

‡ *The Guide Book to Historic Germantown*. Prepared for The Site and Relic Society by Charles Francis Jenkins. Germantown, 1904.

From his mass of writings\* one fugitive bit of song has been preserved, an echo, perhaps, of student days in Germany. The song, translated by the late Samuel W. Pennypacker, Governor of Pennsylvania, has been set to music by Arthur L. Church, who published both the German and English text with the musical score. The first stanza is given in facsimile on the opposite page.

“Come, Corinna, let me kiss thee!  
Come, my dearest, to me here!  
I would know why joy should miss thee,  
I would have thine answer clear!  
Smiling sweetly said she, “No,”  
Then demurely yielded so.

“Stay here near me, oh, my treasure,”  
Cried I; “run not off so far;  
Let us try love’s luring measure,  
While our lives the richest are.”  
Sighing deeply said she, “No,”  
Then demurely yielded so.

Raise thy head and let me kiss thee!  
Not a man shall ever learn  
How with language I caress thee.  
How my lips to thine do turn.  
Then she trembled and said, “No,”  
But demurely yielded so.

Often since whene’er I wonder,  
Whether far or near the way,  
O’er the lesson do I ponder  
From Corinna learned that day.  
“No” is sometimes backwardness;  
“No” is sometimes meant for “Yes.”

\*Oswald Seidensticker, *First Century of German Printing in America, 1728-1890*. Philadelphia, 1893, has a list of the writings of Pastorius in print, together with list of his manuscript books.

**Germantown Love Song.**

By Francis Daniel Pastorius.  
Translated from the German by Samuel W. Foxglove. . . Arthur L. Church.

*Andante.*

**Tenor I.** Co - rin - na, let me kiss thee! Come, my dearest, to me  
man dich Co - rin - na küss - an, so komm mein Liebgen zu mir

**Tenor II.**

**Bass I.** Come, Co - rin - na, let me kiss thee! Come, my dearest, to me  
Darf man dich Co - rin - na küss - an, so komm mein Liebgen zu mir

**Bass II.**

*dolce*  
here! I would know why joy should miss thee, I would have thine answer  
her, Ich werd es wohl am best - en wis - sen, dass ward die Ant - wort an - ge -

*dolce*  
here! I would know why joy should miss thee, I would have thine answer  
her, Ich werd es wohl am best - en wis - sen, dass ward die Ant - wort an - ge -

*dolce*  
clear. Smiling sweetly said she, "No," Then de - murely yielded so.  
klar. Sie lach - te und sag - te Nein, und gab sich doch ge - dül - tig drein.

*dolce*  
clear. Smiling sweetly said she; "No," Then de - murely yielded so.  
klar. Sie lach - te und gab sich doch ge - dül - tig drein.

A Modern Musical Setting of the Germantown Love Song of Pastorius





THE MENNONITES AND DUNKERS  
THEIR EMIGRATION AND HYMNODY



---

## THE MENNONITES AND DUNKERS THEIR EMIGRATION AND HYMNODY

---

AMONG those who sought refuge in Pennsylvania, where the laws of William Penn had assured complete freedom of conscience to all communities of believers, were the Mennonites from Switzerland and the German Palatinate, followers of Menno Simon. Their emigrations to the neighborhood of Philadelphia and Germantown cover chiefly the period between 1683 and 1748, the largest number arriving in the first quarter of the eighteenth century. In the autumn of 1683\* thirty-three pilgrims to Pennsylvania, as sung by Whittier, came on the ship *Concord*, nearly all connected by blood or marriage, and of the Mennonite sect, from Crefeld on the lower Rhine. Their coming was through much distress, financial and physical, but their high courage and determination along a series of years, brought them to Pennsylvania by way of Rotterdam and London, aided much by the Quakers of the Netherlands and England.† Some of the Swiss Mennonites, of whom a larger group fled by way of the Rhine from Berne through Mannheim to Nimeguen and thence to the impoverished Palatinate, waited for eight years before entering the promised land.‡

Meanwhile the Mennonites so far prospered that, by 1708, they had become sufficiently strong numerically to erect a meeting house at Germantown, with William Rit-

\* Cf. Samuel W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, p. 9 et seq.

† Robert Barclay, *Inner Life of the Religious Societies of the Commonwealth*.

‡ J. G. De Hoop Scheffer of Amsterdam, *Mennonite Emigration to Pennsylvania*. Printed in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. II, 117 et seq.

tenhouse \* as their first pastor, or preacher. This meeting-house, a log structure, the first to be built within the bounds of Germantown,† was supplanted, in 1770, by the present stone edifice which is still used by descendants of the early pioneers who built it. Gradually the congregation increased and daughter-churches were established in outlying districts. The Mennonite hymn-book, *Der Ausbund: Das ist Etliche Schöne Christliche Lieder* was printed by Christopher Saur, at Germantown, in 1742, 1751, 1767, 1785.‡

According to its title-page, the *Ausbund* § consists of "beautiful hymns composed in the prison of the castle of Bassau [sic] and elsewhere by the Swiss brethren and other orthodox Christians." It was first published at Schaffhausen in 1583, and has been printed at Basel as recently as 1838. There have probably been more than a dozen American editions. Still in print, it is now regarded as the almost exclusive possession of the sect known as the Amish.

A clear delineation of the Sectarian movement in Pennsylvania, and its segregation into more or less antagonistic groups, would lead the reader far beyond the limits of this work and greatly encroach upon the well-known works of able writers. In a few words, the Pietist movement was a vital force at work within the Protestant State

\* Willem Rittinghuysen of Broich in Holland, a Mennonite minister, came with family and others of his sect to Germantown in 1688. Two years later he built the first paper mill in the Colonies on a branch of the Wissahickon in Roxborough township. David Rittenhouse the American astronomer was a great-grandson.

† On the Main Street, above Herman Street. This was the first Mennonite house of worship in America.

‡ Hildeburn, *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*, items 746, 1205, 2275.

§ An account of this curious volume, taken from Dr. Dubbs' *Early German Hymnology of Pennsylvania*, will be found in Appendix I.

churches of the German states. The Moravian and Bohemian migration of 1722 cut the Unitas Fratrum out of the Pietist group. The spiritual descent from John of Leyden created the Evangelical groups of German Baptists, or Dunkers. The Schwenkfelders are the followers of Caspar Schwenkfeld von Ossig, a scattered and then reunited band of direct dissenters from the Roman Church. The Mennonites are Dunkers who practised affusion, as opposed to immersion, and were the followers of Menno Simon.\* The Amish are followers of Jacob Ammen, a Swiss preacher of the seventeenth century, who disagreed with Dunkers and Mennonites in regard to questions of baptism and of dress.†

The Dunkers and Mennonites, like the Society of Friends, generally opposed Church music, instrumental or vocal, as practiced in the public worship of the time.‡ The early Friends, however, were not opposed to all singing in public worship as is evidenced in Fox's *Journal* of 1655, where mention is made that: "Tho: Holme & Eliz: Holme: att a meetinge in Underbarrow: were much exercised by y<sup>e</sup> power of y<sup>e</sup> Lorde in Songes and Hymns & made melody & rejoiced:" Three years later he wrote: "Those who are moved to sing with understanding, making melody to the Lord in their hearts we own; *if it be in meeter*, we own it." §

\* A Dutch reformer, 1492-1559, far in advance of his time, who taught the complete severance of church and state and other principles of religious liberty.

† Redmond Conyngham, MS. *History of the Mennonists and Amish*, in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, printed in *Hazard's Register of Pennsylvania*, vol. VII, p. 129.

‡ Cf. Louis F. Benson, D. D., *The English Hymn. Its Development and Use in Worship* (1915), p. 94 *et seq.*

§ *The Journal of George Fox, ed. from the MSS. by Norman Penney.* Cambridge (1911).

The Dunkards, or German Baptist Brethren,\* effected a church organization at Germantown, on Christmas Day, 1723, making choice of Peter Becker as elder. On this day the solemn service of immersion was performed in the waters of the Wissahickon. Clear on the wintry air rose the solemn German invocation, and the strains of the baptismal hymn, composed by that patriarch of the German Brethren, Alexander Mack,† who had not yet come to Pennsylvania: *Ueberschlag die Kost, Spricht Jesu Christ, wann du den Grund wilt legen.*

Notwithstanding serious religious differences the next few years brought increased membership and a daughter-congregation on the Conestoga. On Whitsunday, May 21, 1727, the first general meeting, or conference, of the Brethren Church was held at the house of Martin Urner in Coventry when there was a noteworthy outpouring of religious zeal. The occasion was made memorable by the introduction of antiphonal, or choral singing, into the simple worship of the Brethren. One record states: "The singing was pentecostal and heavenly; yea some declared that they heard angel voices mingling with it." The hymnology of the Brethren and Sabbatarians dates from this Conference, which preceded and doubtless hastened the separation and the establishment of the community on the Cocalico. Here was the inception of the music and hymnody, which, fostered by Beissel, proved in later years so important a feature in the Ephrata Community as to attract the musical critics of the Old World. Meanwhile the Sabbatarians issued, in 1730, from the Franklin press, a hymn-book for the congregation: *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes gethöne*; and

\* Brumbaugh, *A History of the German Baptist Brethren in Europe and America*, Mount Morris, Illinois, 1899.

† Alexander Mack came to Pennsylvania in 1729. With seven others he founded, at Schwarzenau, in 1708, a society for the study of Scripture closely resembling the Philadelphia Society.

the hymnology of both Sabbatarians and Brethren developed rapidly in the Western World, where it now numbers hundreds of hymns and melodies.\* A Dunker hymn-book: *Das Kleine Davidsche Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions* † was printed by Saur, at Germantown, in 1744, with *Die Kleine Harfe* as an appendix in 1753, followed by numerous editions between 1760 and 1816. These, with *Liebliche und erbauliche Lieder von der Herrlichkeit und Ehre Jesu Christi*, Germantown, 1788; *Unpartheyische Lieder Sammlung*, and *Unpartheyische Gesang-Buch*, seem to have answered all devotional purposes of the German Baptist sects.

The Cloister settlement at Ephrata was begun by John Conrad Beissel whose dissent from the Dunkers and Mennonites lay particularly in his Sabbatarian belief, hence the colloquial name of the Cloister people, Sieben Taeger.

Johannes Kelpius, on the other hand, though a Pietist, was outside both the state churches and the sectarian bodies. He was a mystic, a solitary, and a follower of the ancient order of the Rosy Cross, with its vague spiritual descent from the Mysteries of Mithra and Magna Mater.

As to the Pennsylvania sectaries, so called, a table of dates may be helpful:

- 1683 Pastorius at Germantown.
- 1694 Kelpius on the Wissahickon.
- 1683-1748 Migrations of Mennonites.
- 1714 Christopher Dock in the Skippack.
- 1725-38 John Conrad Beissel at Ephrata.
- 1719 The Dunkers, or German Baptists.
- 1725 Jacob Ammen and the "Amish."
- 1734 The Schwenkfelders at Pennsburg.
- 1737-1741 The Moravians at Bethlehem.

\* Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania*, 1708-1742, pp. 127-9.

† Hildeburn, *The Issues of the Pennsylvania Press*, items 895, 1806.



Unpartheyisches  
Gesang-Buch,

Inhaltend

Geistreiche Lieder und Psalmen,

Zum allgemeinen Gebrauch

Des

Wahren Gottesdienstes.

Auf Begehren der

Brüderschaft der

Mennonisten Gemeinen,

Aus vielen Liederbüchern gesammelt.

Mit einem dreyfachen Register.

Vierte verbesserte Auflage, mit einem Index.

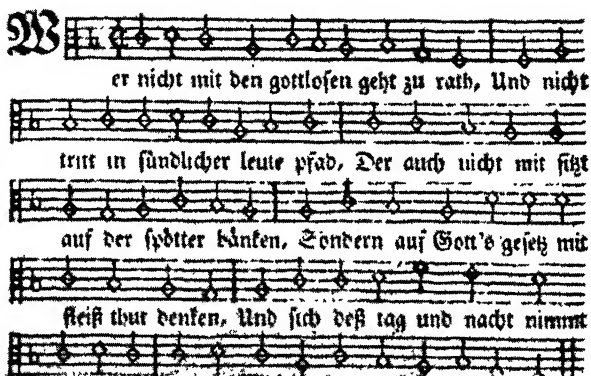
Lancaster:

Gedruckt bey Johann Bär, 1829.

A Later Mennonite Hymn Book after the manner of

## Der 1 Psalm.

Dienet zur Aufweckung, das Gesetz des Herrn zu betrachten.



berzlich an. Hütwahr der ist vor Gott ein sel'ger mann.

2. Dann er wird gleich seyn von der erden wehet, Darum  
einem baum, der sein Ge- ihr keiner vor gericht verlehet.  
pflanzet steht an einem wäs- Die sündet auch in der ge-  
serlein, Der seine frucht zu rechten rath In der versamm-  
seinen zeiten trägt, Deß laub lung finden keine statt.

nach nimmer abzufallen pfe- 4. Dann die gerechten sind  
get: So auch was solcher Gott wohl bekannt, Und wie  
mensch thut und vergnnt, Das es ist um all ihr thun bewandt,  
selb allzeit ein glücklich end Drum werden sie in ewigkeit  
gewinnt. wohl bleiben: Die aber die

3. Dargegen die gottlosen, ein gottlos leben treiben, Des-  
mir das glaub, Seind nicht selben thum gar nicht beileben  
also, sondern wie spreu und kann. Die gehn zu grund, Gott  
faub, Welchen der wind auf nimmt sich ihr's nicht an.

## CHRISTOPHER DOCK

## EARLY MENNONITE SCHOOLMASTER

CHRISTOPHER DOCK,\* a Mennonite, came from Germany to Pennsylvania about 1714. Tradition is responsible for the statement that he had been previously drafted into the army, but had been discharged because of his refusal to bear arms. In 1718, or soon after his arrival, he opened a Mennonite school on the Skippack, beyond Norristown, where many of the Dutch and German dissenting Protestant sects had settled. Ten years later he gave up his school, which, for want of encouragement, was not sufficient to support him, although his feeling in undertaking it was that he had been divinely led.

On November 28th, 1735, he bought from the Penns one hundred acres of land in Salford township, now Montgomery County, for £15 10s., and for another decade lived upon this tract, teaching school in Germantown during the summers, in three-month sessions, for four years of the ten.\*

But so constantly was he pursued, when away from his school, by a sense of duty unfulfilled, that, in 1738, he gave up his farm and returned to his old pursuit. He then opened two schools, one in Skippack and one in Salford, which he taught three days each alternately, and for the rest of his life he devoted himself to this task unceasingly.

Through the efforts of the German printer, Christopher Saur, the younger, of Germantown, who with difficulty overcame Dock's fear of doing anything that might seem to redound to his own credit, the schoolmaster was persuaded to write out a treatise upon his method of teaching

\* S. W. Pennypacker, *Historical and Biographical Sketches*, p. 91 et seq.

and conducting his school for the benefit of others less gifted. This was completed August 8th, 1750, under the condition that it was not to be published in his life-time. For many years the manuscript lay unused. Meanwhile, Saur, who had become a bishop of the Mennonite faith, prevailed upon the pious instructor of his youth to allow publication.\* In 1770, a second edition of the *Schul-Ordnung* † appeared with a long German title.‡

The work is of great importance, in that it is, perhaps, the earliest, written and published in America, upon the subject of school teaching, and in that it gives a complete picture of the colonial Pennsylvania country school.§ His Note-Board, used in teaching the children music, was a narrow black board, upon each side of which the lines of three musical staves were cut. In speaking of this he says: "But the freedom has been given to me, in singing, to sing hymns and psalms. So I have then sung with them both hymns and psalms."

In his old age he published in the *Geistliches Magazien*, Saur's rare periodical, *Rules of conduct*, and advice to children and young people, and several hymns and spiritual songs of which two are also appended to the catechism which accompanied his first essay, the *Schul-Ordnung*.||

\* Cf. Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, items 1979, 2522.

† Pennypacker, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

‡ Cf. Lucy Forney Bittinger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*, p. 49.

§ This publication, in the first edition, is in the Cassel collection in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

|| Cf. Pennypacker's *Historical and Biographical Sketches* for an English translation of the Works of Christopher Dock: *School Management, A Hundred Necessary Rules of Conduct for Children*, and the hymn, *Ach Kinder wollt ihr lieben*, which contains twenty-four stanzas of eight lines each.



## Geistliches Magazien. Num. 15.

Zwey erbauliche Lieder, welche der Gottselige Christoph Dock, [Schulmeister an der Schipbach] seinen lieben Schülern, und allen andern die sie lesen, zur Betrachtung hinterlassen hat.

Mel. Wer nur den lieben Gott läßt walten. Oder auf folgende Noten.

**M** ein Lebensfaden lauft zu Ende, Mein Pilgerfahrt ist bald  
gethan; Ach Gott, mir ein Geleitsmann sende! Der mich erhält  
auf rechter Bahn, Der bey mir an dem Ruder steh Wann ich den  
letzten Sturm anseheh.

2.  
Damit mein Schifflein durch die  
Wellen  
Der Todes-angst gerad zu geh,  
Zum Vaterland und meine Seele,  
Auf ihren Leitsstern seh,  
Auf meinen Heyland Jesum Christ,  
Der auch im Tod mein Leben ist.

3.  
Ach Herr mein Gott! diß mein-  
Begehren,  
Sieht nicht auf mein Gerechtigkeit;  
Ich hoff du wirst es mir gewähren,  
Aus Gnade und Barmherzigkeit:  
Denn unser eigen Frömmigkeit,  
Ist vor dir ein besetztes Kleid.

4.  
Glaub, Lieb und Hoffnung zu ver-  
mehren,  
Kommt nicht aus eignen Kräften steh,  
Ich hoff auf Christum meinen Her-  
ren,  
Und auf sein unbetrüglisch Wort,  
Daß ist in meiner letzten Weis,  
Mein Lebens-trant und Seelen-speiß.  
Geistl. Magazien II Theil. -

5.  
Er ist das Lamm, das hier auf  
Erden,  
Die Sünd der Welt getragen hat,  
Wers herzlich glaubt, wird selig  
werden,  
Und bey Gott finden Fried u. Gnad:  
Drum laß ich meinen Jesum nicht,  
Wenn nur der Tod das Herze bricht.

6.  
Nun will ich in der Liebe fassen,  
Brüder, Schwestern, mit Weib und  
Kind,  
Als liebe Freund, auch die mich hassen,  
Und mir nicht wohl gemogen sind;  
Ich bitt euch alle um Gedult,  
Verzeihet mir, erlaßt die Schuld.

7.  
Wo euch mein Wandel, Thun  
und Leben,  
In etwas je betrübet hat,  
Ich will euch allen gern vergeben,  
Und bitte Gott daß er in Gnad  
Uns anseh und genädig sey,  
Uns allen unsre Sünd verzeih.  
Q 3. Noß

# *Geistliche Lieder.*

155

19. Und übt euch in Gottseligkeit;  
Läßt euch die Welt nicht seyn ein  
hinder  
An euren Heil und Seligkeit,  
So werdt ihr dort in Ewigkeit,  
Euch freuen ohne Daaal und Leid.

20. Bedenkt es auch ihr Menschen-  
kinder,  
Die ihr noch lebt in Eitelkeit,  
Bedenkt es wohl, ihr strecken Sün-  
der,  
Und laßt euch rathen in der Zeit;  
Eh Gott sein Antlitz von euch wendt,  
Und sein gerechter Zorn andrennt.

21. Nun gute Nacht du liebe Jugend,  
Gott segne und behüte euch;  
Er ziere euch mit Zucht und Tugend,  
Und bringe euch zu seinem Reich.  
Gut Nacht euch allen insgemein,  
Jungen und Alten, Groß und Klein.

22. Die Kleinen schenkt ich zum Abschiede  
Der lieben Jugend allgleich;  
Und bitte euch wohl euch bereiten-  
Zur ewigen Freud in Gottes Reich:  
Laßt Lamp und Gefäß nicht leer seyn,  
Füllt Glaubens-öl mit Tugend drein.  
2 Petri 1, 5 bis 16.

## Ein ander geistlich Lied von selbigem Author.

Mel. Ihr Sänder kommt gegangen.

Ich Kinder wollt ihr lieben, So liebt was Liebens werth,  
Wollt ihr ja Freude u'n, So liebt was Freude werth;  
Liebt Gott, das höchste Gut, Mit Geist, Herz, Seel und Muth,  
So wird euch solche Liebe Erquick'n Herz und Muth.

2. Liebt ihr die Eitelkeiten,  
Liebt ihr des Fleisches-lust,  
So saugt ihr kurze Freuden,  
Aus falscher Liebes Brust,  
Worauf in Ewigkeit,  
Folgt Jammer, Daaal und Leid,  
Wo nicht in Zeit der Gnaden,  
Die Seel durch Buß befreit.

3. Wir finden klar geschrieben  
Von einem reichen Mann,  
Der that solch Liebe üben,  
Wie Lucas zeigt an,  
Lebt er die kurze Zeit,  
In Fleisches-lust und Freud,  
Und ließ sein Herze wehden  
In lauter Eitelkeit.

4. Er hat in diesem Leben  
Mit Purpur sich gekleidt,  
Doch er muß Abschied geben,  
Sein Freud währet kurze Zeit.  
So bald nach seinem Todt,  
Befand er sich in Noth;  
Niemand wollt ihn erretten  
Aus solcher Pein und Leid.

5. Drauf rief er um Erbarmen,  
Ach Vater Abraham!  
Komm doch und hilf mir Armen  
Aus dieser großen Flamm;  
Ich bitte dich darum,  
Ach sende Lazarum,  
Mit einem Tröpflein Wasser  
Zu kühlen meine Zung.

6. Rein

*In Luthers-Erwählung*



Title-page of first Pennsylvania Treatise on Education, 1770.

Some of his hymns are still in use in the services of the Mennonite church. Among them are:

Kommt, liebe Kinder, kommt herbey.

Ach, kommet her, ihr Menschen Kinder.

Mein Lebensfaden läuft zu Ende.

Ach Kinder wollt ihr lieben.

Fromm seyn ist ein Schatz der Jugend.

An Gottes Gnad und milden Seegen.

Allein auf Gott setz dein Vertrauen.

During his later years, Christopher Dock made his home with Heinrich Kassel, a Mennonite farmer on the Skippack. One evening, in the autumn of 1771, the schoolmaster failed to return home as usual at the end of the day. A search found him in the school house, on his knees beside his desk, where the messenger of death had overtaken him at his devotions, thus fittingly ending a life entirely given over to contemplation and good works. In this idyllic figure the most attractive features of the early German emigration are set in splendid relief.

“ But past is all his fame: the very spot  
Where many a time he triumphed, is forgot.”

With spiritual eyes he may have caught the vision of one of his own hymns:

Ach da wird lieblich klingen  
Der Engel Music-chor,  
Mit Jauchzen und mit Singen  
Wird gehen durch die Thor,  
In Zion's Stadt hinein,  
Was Christi Schäfflein seyn,  
Wo ewig Freud und Wonne  
Auf ihrem Haupt wird seyn.



### EPHRATA AND THE COMMUNITY OF THE SOLITARY

EPHRATA is situated in Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, thirteen miles from Lancaster and sixty-five miles from Philadelphia, in an angle where two great highways intersect each other.

The Delaware Indians, who inhabited this region, named it and the stream that flows through Ephrata, "Koch-Halekung," that is, "Serpent's Den," on account of the many snakes found there. The Europeans kept the word, but pronounced it "Cocalico," which was also the name of the township \* until 1838. A religious settlement, made here between 1725 and 1735, became known as Ephrata, the Cloister, the Community of the Solitary.

The settlement had its beginnings among the German Baptists on the Conestoga, from whom its founder had seceded and whose followers at Ephrata were called *Sieben Taeger*, Seventh Day People, because they kept the seventh instead of the first day of the week as the Sabbath.† The leader of the exodus to the Cocalico, John Conrad Beissel, by engrafting on the simple form of Sabbatarian worship certain mystic dogmas of the seventeenth century with which he had become imbued before leaving the Old World, was able to establish in the wilderness of Pennsylvania the mystical community of the solitary, *Ein Orden*

\* *Chronicon Ephratense containing the Biography of the Venerable Father in Christ, Friedensam Gottrecht, the Late Founder and Superintendent of the Spiritual Order of the Solitary in the Barony of Lancaster in Pennsylvania.* Compiled by Br Lamech and Agrippa. Ephrata. Printed Anno MDCCLXXXVI.

† *Vide* An abridged sketch of Ephrata, with a well defined summary of the illy understood principles of the Seventh Day Baptist Society of Ephrata, by William M. Fahnestock, M. D., in *An Authentic History of Lancaster County, in the State of Pennsylvania.* By J. I. Mombert, D. D. Lancaster, 1869, p. 354, *et seq.*

*der Einsamen*, whose aim was spiritual and physical regeneration with the ideal of perfection.\* As early as 1735 the monastic system was inaugurated and Beissel invested with the title of father, assuming the name *Friedsam*. A little later a separate Sisterhood was instituted.

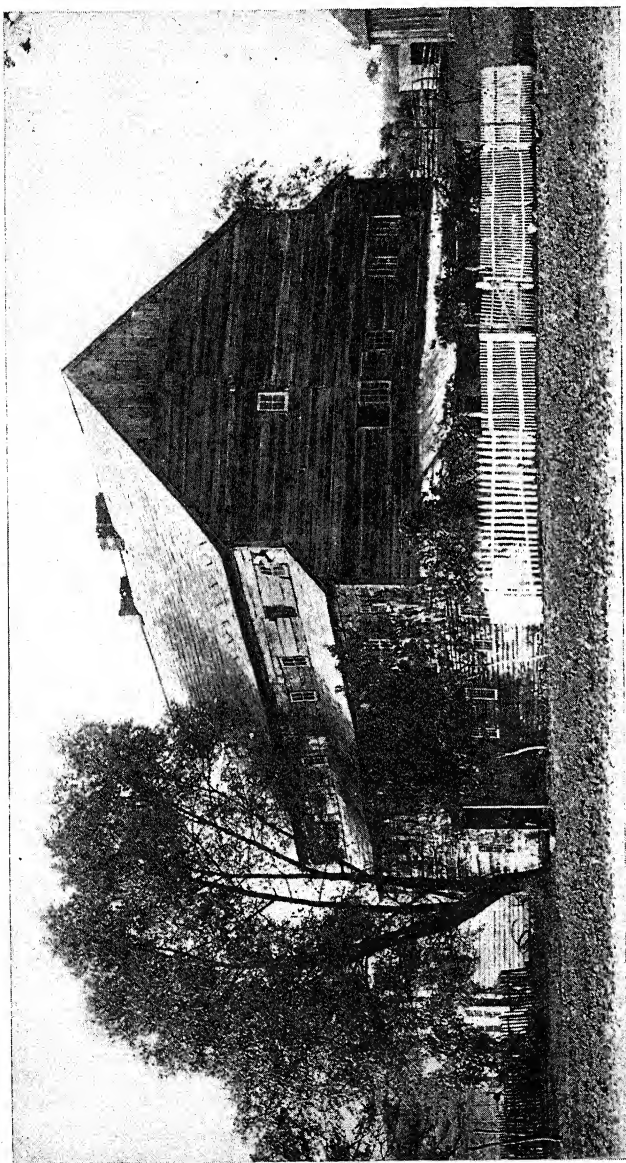
In 1740 there were in the Ephrata Cloisters thirty-six single brethren and thirty-five sisters; and, in later years, when the society was at the height of its prosperity, the whole congregation, including those living outside the principal buildings but in the immediate neighborhood, numbered about three hundred.†

By industry and the rise in land values the Community grew in importance. Included in its body corporate were Latin scholars whose reputation as teachers became so widely known that men of wealth, in Philadelphia and elsewhere, desiring classical education for their sons, sent them to the brethren at Ephrata rather than to other centers of learning.

The first buildings of the Society were Kedar and Zion, a meeting-house and convent, which were erected on the hill called Mount Zion. The Brethren afterwards built larger accommodations, comprising a Sisters' House, called Saron, to which was attached a large Chapel for the purpose of holding the *Agapæ* or Love Feast. A Brothers' House, called Bethania, was connected with the large meeting room with galleries in which the Society assembled for public worship. These were surrounded by smaller buildings, some of which were occupied by printing office, bake house and school house. In one of these was placed the

\* Cf. Julius F. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742. A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers*. Philadelphia, 1899.

† Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 838-42.



Bethania, The Old Brother House

town clock, now on the third floor of the Sisters House, bearing date 1735 and the initials C. W., leading to the conclusion that Dr. Christopher Witt of the Wissahickon was its builder.

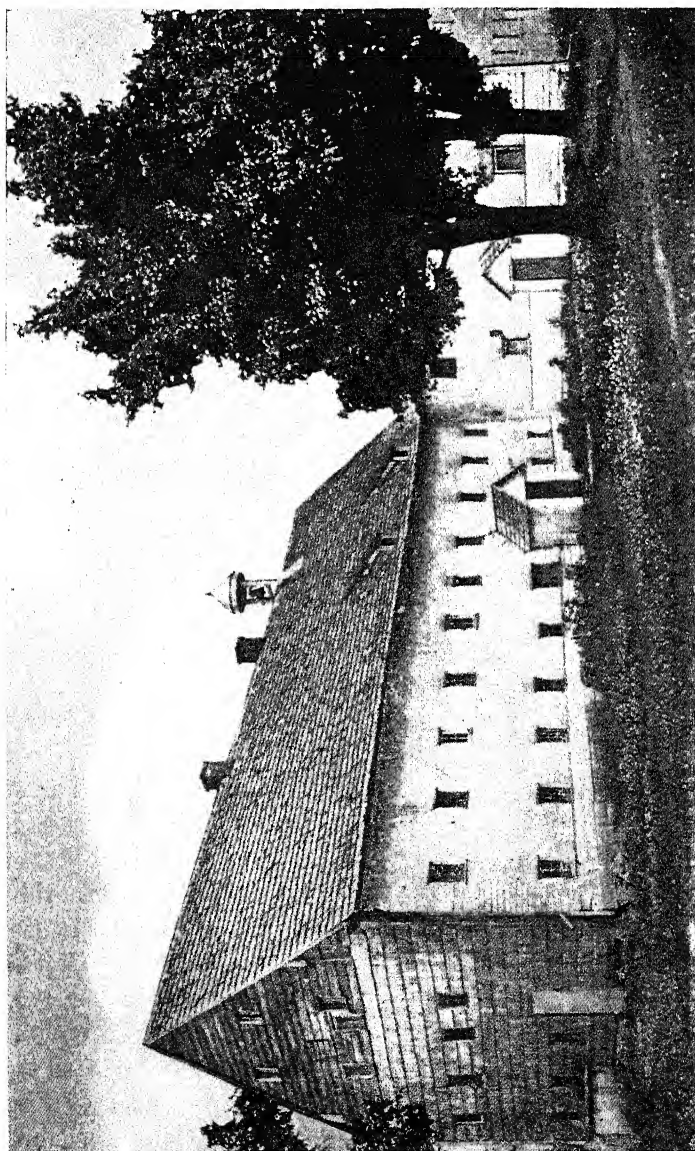
These buildings, which still stand, are of very ancient architecture, though there is nothing unusual in their style. The two houses for the brethren and sisters are very large, being three and four stories high. Each has a chapel for meetings and the main buildings are divided into small apartments, each containing a cot (in early days, a bench and a billet of wood for the head), a closet and an hour-glass.

On entering these silent cells and traversing the long narrow passages, visitors can scarcely divest themselves of the feeling of walking the tortuous windings of some old castle, and breathing in the hidden recesses of romance.

The ceilings have an elevation of but seven feet. The passages leading to the cells, or kammers as they are styled, and through the different parts of both convents, are barely wide enough to admit one person, for when meeting a second, one or the other has always to retreat.

The cubicles or kammers are but five feet high and twenty inches wide, and the window, for each has but one, is 18 by 24 inches.

More interesting than the high-gabled Cloister buildings, their curious history and associations, were the issues of the printing office and the ornate specimens of calligraphy of the writing room. These were the feeders for the music of the Cloister, with its distinctive system of harmony, unique notation, quaint melodies, and peculiar method of vocal rendition, all of which were the outgrowth of the theosophy taught by Conrad Beissel and his followers on the Cocalico.



The Saal and Saron, Sister House and Chapel, built 1738

The famous printing press of Ephrata was obtained by the Society in 1742, and put in operation in the same year, or the early part of 1743. In a curious way it was an outcome of the Saur publication of the *Zionitischer Weyrauch's Hügel*.<sup>\*</sup> Its first issue was the *Göldene Aepffel In Silbern Schalen*,<sup>†</sup> in 1745. During the next half-century it was kept in active operation. More than forty-three distinct publications are known to have come from the justly celebrated old press, which passed into the possession of the Ephrata Society about 1795, and is now owned by the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. These issues included the great Martyr Book of 1748-9, the most important literary publication of colonial Pennsylvania, if not of the colonies; sectarian tracts of Beissel and the Brotherhood; one or more editions of the New Testament, and several editions of the *Turtel Taube* and the *Paradisisches Wunder-Spiel*, the well-known hymnals of the order.<sup>‡</sup> A large quantity of Continental money was also printed on this press while Congress was in session, at York, in 1777-78.<sup>§</sup>

<sup>\*</sup> Cf. Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County*, for list of thirty-eight titles of Ephrata publications

<sup>†</sup> *Efrata, Im Jahre des Heils 1745, verlegt durch etliche Mitglieder der Mennonisten-Gemeine*. 16mo., pp. 519 + 14.—Seidensticker, *A Century of German Printing*, p. 26.

<sup>‡</sup> *Vide* Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister* for titles of publications from this press, p. 39 *et seq.*

<sup>§</sup> Cf. Charles R. Hildeburn, *A Century of Printing. The Issues of The Press of Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, items 617, 932.

## CONRAD BEISSEL AND THE MUSIC OF THE EPHRATA CLOISTER

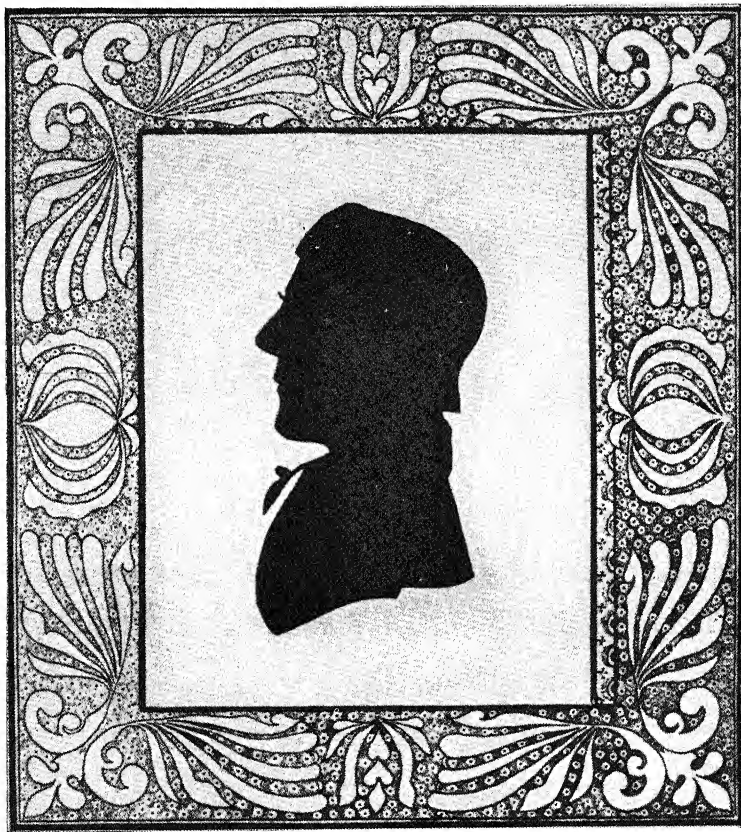
FATHER FRIEDSAM, the founder of the Cloister, first saw light in this world in the year 1690, at Eberbach, a village on the Necker belonging to a sub-bailiwick of the dominion of Mossbach in the Palatinate, and bore the family name of John Conrad Beissel. His father carried on the trade of a baker, but was so given to drink that he sank all he owned down his throat and then died, leaving behind a poor widow and a numerous family. This, his youngest son, was born two months after his death and was, therefore, a true *opus-posthumum*, by this orphan birth pre-ordained to be a priest after the order of Melchizedek, deriving little comfort from natural kindred. His mother was a godly woman and died when he was in his eighth year.\*

With his growth in years he displayed extraordinary natural gifts. He showed a wonderful facility in learning many things without instruction, merely by his own reflection.

He was apprenticed to a baker, and as the latter was also a musician, he learned from him to play the violin. He had the opportunity to display his bright disposition at weddings, at which, when exhausted with fiddling, he would betake himself to dancing, and from this again return to the former; so that the wonder was all the greater when afterwards it was said he had become a Pietist. His conversion took place in 1715, in his thirty-fifth year, after which he devoted his life to the study of religious truth, coming finally under the influence and instruction of the Rosicrucians. Much tribulation made him resolve to

\* Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, p. 34 et seq.

affiliate with the Brethren on the Wissahickon in Pennsylvania. Accordingly he sailed for America in the late sum-



Silhouette of Beissel found in the Sister House at Ephrata many years ago  
Now in The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

mer of 1720 to find, on reaching Germantown, the *Magister* dead and the Tabernacle deserted.



The next year, with one of his companions from the old world, Beissel journeyed to the Conestoga valley and there on the Mühlbach, in the primitive forest, the wanderers established themselves for a life of seclusion and prayer. While there they exhorted their neighbors as opportunity offered and imparted instruction to the young of the German settlers. Thus was started the first free school in Lancaster County.

A few years later and Beissel was at Ephrata the beloved head of the Cloister, *Father Friedensam Gottrecht*, the propositus of a plan of monastic living and of a new system of music which made him a picturesque personality in the annals of colonial Pennsylvania music.\*

His followers, or companions, at Ephrata, were voluntary exiles seeking to enjoy greater mental and moral independence; Protestant friars, among whom were men of letters, living simple and severe lives, not unlike those of the followers of St. Francis of Assisi. In consequence of which, as is elsewhere stated, a school or academy was maintained that gained for itself an honorable reputation.

Music was greatly cultivated. The recent researches of local German scholars have been instrumental in preserving and in bringing to present-day attention much of the history of this remarkable musical group of eighteenth century Pennsylvania. Acknowledgment is here made to the first of these writers, the late Dr. Julius F. Sachse, whose almost monumental work, *The German Sectarians*, has been widely drawn upon in the preparation of this sketch. From his *Music of the Ephrata Cloister* copious extracts have been taken.

\* Robert Rutherford Drummond, Ph. D., *Early Music in Philadelphia*, p. 8.

Choirs and singing schools were early started at Ephrata under the direction of Beissel, who, according to one authority, was himself a good singer as well as an excellent performer on the violin and other musical instruments. Assuming the role of *Capellmeister*, he held singing school upon certain evenings in the sister house. The sessions lasted four hours, from eight o'clock to midnight. To inculcate the necessity of purity of heart he required the scholars to appear in snow-white garments, a rule to which he strictly adhered himself. Upon the nights when the classes met the brethren who attended would walk in procession, led by Brother Jephune, from the Zion convent on the hill, down to the sister house in the meadow. Being also dressed in white garments, they presented a medieval picture as they slowly wended their way down the hillside. Their return was in the same manner, and so timed that they arrived at their convent for the midnight mass.\*

Another rule laid down by Beissel, in the development of his choir system, was the placing of the different voices upon a distinctive diet, which was thought to affect the vocal chords and help in developing a particular range of the voice. Thus the diet for bass singers was entirely different from that for tenors, while the second bass and baritone varied as greatly in their special diet as did soprano and alto. Just what these specialized diets were, seems not to be of record. Diet is however given a place in the preface to the *Turtel Taube*, printed in 1747.

It is related, in the *Chronicon Ephratense*, that the *meister* conducted the singing classes with such sternness as to cause dissension and the discontinuance of his teaching. This latter was not of long duration and with fresh enthusiasm the singing school was begun anew.

\* Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800*, p. 138.

The celibates, male and female, were divided into five choirs, with five persons to each choir, namely, one soprano, one tenor, one alto and two bass singers. The sisters were divided into three choirs, the upper, middle and lower ; and in the choruses a sign was made for each choir when to join or alternate in the singing. These three choirs had their respective places at the table of the sisters during love feasts, the upper choir at the upper end, the middle at the centre and the lower at the lower end. In singing antiphonally, therefore, the singing went alternately up and down the table. Not only had each choir to observe its place to join, but, because there were solos in each chorale, every voice knew when silence was to be observed by it. Apparently, it is to be understood that all parts, save the high and low bass, were sung chiefly by female voices.\*

The chief peculiarity of the Cloister music lay in the fact that the music, though barred, was free, and that the accent of the word ruled, rather than the accent of the bar ; the music in every case being subservient to the words.

Probably the exact musical value of the note, as understood in modern music, was only approximated. The first and other notes were frequently lengthened, possibly to enable the voices to steady themselves, and the emphasized words in the course of the hymns were also somewhat held ; thus there were irregular successions of three, four, five, six, even seven notes in the bar, where modern music would have a regular meter in common or in triple time. All of the music for the upper parts was written in the C clef, as by its use all the notes of each part could be kept within the staff, and thus obviate the use of leger lines.

The music for the choirs, largely of Beissel's composi-

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\* Cf. Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, pp. 29, 84; *German Sectarians*, p. 134. *The Chronicon*, p. 165.

tion, was written on sheets by the sisters of Saron, in a room of that house devoted to that purpose. More than four hundred hymns of his composition were thus copied into the great Ephrata hymn-book, the *Zionitischer Wey-rauchs Hügel*.

The Fahnestock manuscript, frequently alluded to in Sachse's *Sectarians*, relates that the Cloister music numbered at one time over a thousand pieces of original music, some of which was set in two parts, first and second, for social praise of two together; the same set in four parts, and again the same set in five parts, which latter was the arrangement in public worship.

The same manuscript further says that "Beissel took his style from the music of nature, and the whole of it, comprising several large volumes, is founded on the tones of the Æolian harp; the singing, in a word, is the Æolian harp harmonized. It is very peculiar in its style and concords, and in its execution. The tones issuing from the choir imitate very soft instrumental music, carrying a softness and devotion almost superhuman to the auditor. Their music is set in two, four, five and seven parts. All the parts save the bass, which is set in two parts, are led and sung exclusively by the females,\* the men being confined to the high and low bass. The latter resembling the deep tones of the organ, and the former, in combination with one of the female parts, the contrast produces an excellent imitation of the concert horn [hautboy]. The whole is sung in the falsetto voice, which throws the sound up to the ceiling, and the melody which seems to be more than human, appears to be descending from above and hovering over the heads of the assembly."

\* This refers to choir music when both Orders were present. At the services of the Brotherhood four-part music was used—tenor, descant and bass. Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians*, 1742-1800, p. 134.

After a time the study and practice of this music became a distinctive feature of the Ephrata community, with the result that its choirs were widely known for the excellence of their interpretation and drew the attention of savants and others to the institution.

Their singing so charmed the Commissioners, sent to visit the Society by the English Government after the French War, that they requested a copy of the Society's hymns to be sent to the Royal family in England, which was cheerfully complied with. This copy, it is understood, was in 1869 still preserved in the British Museum.

Another visitor, in a letter to Governor John Penn, thus described the music and its effect :

"The counter trebles, tenor and bass, were all sung by women, with sweet, shrill and small voices, but with a truth and exactness in time and intonation that was admirable. It is impossible to describe to your Lordship my feelings upon this occasion. The performers sat with their heads reclined, their countenances solemn and dejected, their faces pale and emaciated from their manner of living, the clothing exceedingly white and quite picturesque and their music such as thrilled to the very soul; I almost began to think myself in the world of spirits, and that the objects before me were ethereal. In short the impression this scene made upon my mind, continued strong for many days, and I believe will never be wholly obliterated." \*

Few accounts of the Cloister music and Father Friedsam are more graphic than that by the Swedish Provost, Magister Israel Acrelius,† on the occasion of his visit to

\* Cf. I. Daniel Rupp, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania.*

† Cf. Israel Acrelius, *A History of New Sweden; or, The Settlements on the River Delaware. Translated from the Swedish, with an Introduction and Notes.* By William M. Reynolds, D. D. *Memoirs of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania* (Philadelphia, 1874), p. 373 *et seq.*

Ephrata, August 20, 1753. Some mention of this is made under Swedish Music in the previous volume of this work, which, in the interest of continuity is here repeated with additions:

"It is a Protestant cloister . . . The people who live here are called by the English, Dumplers; by the Germans, Dunkers, from *duncken* or *tuncken*, to dip, as they are a kind of Anabaptists. From this the town is called by a nickname, but generally *Dunkers' Town*.

"The arrangement of the cloister life was made by Conrad Beisel, formerly a German burgher, who still lives at Ephrata, or Dunkers' Town, as the Director of the whole Community, and he is now about sixty-four years of age. He is a small, lean man, has gray and bushy hair, is quick in his utterance as well as in his movements. Twenty-two years since he first chose for himself the life of a hermit, building for this purpose a small house on the banks of the Cocalico. After some time he took a notion to establish a society of his own, upon principles derived in part from other sects, and in part the product of his own brain. His undertaking prospered, and Germans of both sexes came thither, united with him, and made him their priest, chief man and director of the whole society, not only of the Cloister, but of all the brethren in their faith living in this country. From this time he called himself *Friedsam* (Peaceful); as it is also an established regulation in their society, that all who are admitted among them shall receive a new name in baptism. . . . The brethren and sisters call him Father *Friedsam*, which is also his common name in the country. He calls himself *Friedsam, the elder brother*." He preaches among them, and administers the sacraments as a Minister. As a Director, he makes laws and regulations.

"The younger sisters are mostly employed in drawing. A part of them are just now constantly employed in copying musical note books for themselves and the brethren. I saw some of these upon which a wonderful amount of work had been expended.

"We went and knocked at the Convent door. Their Prioress came out, and when she heard our request, she bade us remain in the church until the sisters came in the proper order to sing. We received an invitation, and went up a still narrower set of stairs than any that we had before seen, and came into a large room; in that there were long tables, with seats upon both sides of them. Here there were some of the sisters sitting, and writing their note-books for the hymns—a work wonderful for its ornaments. Six of them sat together and sang a very lovely tune."

Continuing, the annalist says of a chapel song-service: "The church was not large, and could be filled by some hundred persons. . . . When they were all assembled they sat for some moments perfectly still. . . . Father Friedsam . . . finally sang in a low and fine tone. Thereupon the sisters in the gallery began to sing, the Cloister brothers joined in with them, and all those who were together in the high choir united in a delightful hymn which lasted for about a quarter of an hour."

As the service proceeded, a psalm was sung, upon which the reverend writer made the comment: "It is to be observed that to every psalm there are three different melodies, according to which the note-books are written by the sisters of the convent. Different brothers, as well as the sisters, understood vocal music, as does also Father Friedsam. When they sing, each holds a note-book as well as a psalm-book, both of which are of quarto size, looking into each alternately, which custom would be more difficult if the singing were not performed so regularly every day."

Morgan Edwards, writing in 1770,\* said of the Cloister people and their music: "A smiling innocence and meekness grace their countenances, and a softness of tone and accent adorn their conversation, and make their deportment gentle and obliging. Their singing is charming; partly owing to the pleasantness of their voices, the varieties of parts they carry on together, and the devout manner of performance."

Of Beissel he gives the following from one who knew him: "He was very strict in his morals, and practiced self-denial to an uncommon degree. Enthusiastic and whimsical he certainly was, but an apparent devoutness and sincerity ran through all his oddities. He was not an adept in any of the liberal arts and sciences, except music, in which he excelled. He composed and set to music in three, four, six and eight parts a folio volume of hymns and another of anthems. He published a dissertation on the fall of man, in the mysterious strain; also a volume of letters. He left behind him several books in manuscript, curiously written and embellished."

On Wednesday, July sixth, 1768, died Conrad Beissel, the founder of the German Sabbatarians in America, aged seventy-seven years and four months. At his funeral, two days later, Prior Jaebez, in a brief sketch after the sermon, stated that the deceased had composed fully one thousand pieces of music and printed four hundred and forty-one (441) hymns. Little more than a decade later the Society

\* Edwards, *Materials towards A History of hte American Baptists, in XII volumes*. Philadelphia, 1770. The title to Vol. I is as follows: *Materials | towards a history of the Baptists in Pennsylvania both British and German, distinguished into | First day Baptists | Keithian Baptists | Seventh day Baptists | Tunccker Baptists | Menmonist Baptists |* Vol. I.—Cf. Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania*, item 2524.



began to decrease, not, however, from lack of mental vigor in his successor Johann Peter Miller, Prior Jaebez, the friend of Franklin and Washington, who had administered the monastic affairs during the declining years of the *Vorsteher*. Rather was it that the early eighteenth-century institution failed to meet the requirements of the intellectual development of the later period.

The music of the Ephrata Cloister was entirely unlike the ancient church music. It had none of the rhythm and swing of either the religious or the secular folk-song of the Reformation. With the decline of the monastic or celibate feature of the Community, its music fell into disuse and gradually became a lost art. The only place where any attempt was made to keep the Ephrata music alive was at the institution known as the Nunnery, at Snowhill, in Franklin County. Here the music and Beissel's system were taught and practiced until a few years ago, when the last of the Snowhill celibates passed from time into eternity.

Particular attention has been devoted to Beissel's theories on harmony, in the *Chronicon Ephratense*; in the preface of the hymn-book known as the *Turtel Taube* of 1747, and by Sachse in his *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*. Illustrations have been given of the original scores by Beissel, the elementary exercises used in the singing school, and the finished music of the Cloister services. It is thus possible to form a fairly concrete idea of the system of harmony practised on the Cocalico, which is, perhaps, the earliest musical system evolved during the eighteenth century and a native Pennsylvania product.

## THE EPHRATA HYMNALS AND CHORAL BOOKS

The earliest hymns and music books of the Community were all carefully executed with the pen. These were supplanted by the hymn-books printed for its use by Benjamin Franklin, 1730, 1732 and 1736 and by Saur, in 1739.

These hymns and tunes were virtually the outpourings of enthusiasts, whose nervous systems had been wrought up to a high pitch by incessant vigils, fastings and an abstemious mode of life. So far as known, few, if any, connected with the community were skilled musicians.

It will be noted that the old German choral melodies predominated in the three earliest printed hymn-books: \* *Göttliche Liebes und Lobes Gethöne* (1730); *Vorspiel der Neuen Welt* (1732), and *Jacobs Kampf und Ritter-Platz* (1736).

In the *Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel* of 1739,† psalm tunes of the Geneva church are in evidence, due, doubtless, to the influence of Johann Peter Miller, Brother Jaabez. With the advent at Ephrata, probably before 1739, of Ludwig Blum, "a master singer and was also versed in composition," "English‡ harmony" was introduced to the notice of Beissel, who from this quickly evolved a system of his own.

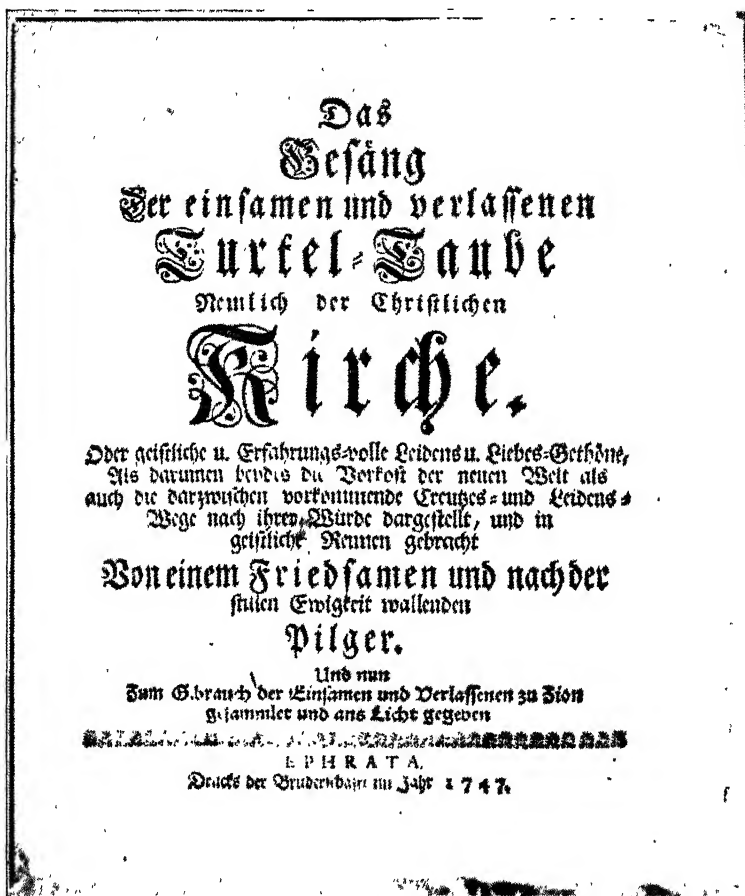
Shortly after the large printing press was installed at the Cloister, the membership as well as the number of

\* Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800. A Critical and Legendary History of the Ephrata Cloister and the Dunkers*, Philadelphia, 1900, pp. 182, 186-7.

† Cf. *Deutsche Pionier*, vol. viii, p. 47, and Dr. Seidensticker's article, *Die Deutsch-Amerikanischen Incunabula*, in same volume, p. 475.

‡ The English translation of the *Chronicon*, page 160, states that Blum "brought some artistic pieces to the Superintendent"—[Beissel]. The context leads to the inference that Blum was master of a harmony so fine as to be angelic. Perhaps "*Englische Harmonie*," not "English harmony", is meant.

hymns having greatly increased, it was proposed to issue from it a distinctive hymn-book for the use of the solitary



Title-page of The Turtel-Taube, 1747

From copy in the Maxwell Collection

and secular organizations, to replace those printed by Franklin and Saur. All hymns were to be the product of the Cloister inmates set to music of their own composition.

The proposal resulted in the printing, at Ephrata in 1747, of a small quarto volume of four hundred and ninety-five pages with seven pages index, under the title: *Das Gesäng Der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube*.<sup>\*</sup> See facsimile on opposite page. The English translation † of the title-page reads:

The Song of the Solitary and Deserted Turtle-Dove, namely the Christian Church; or spiritual and experienceful-songs of Sorrow and Love, as therein both, a foretaste of the new world as well as the intervening ways of the cross and sorrow are presented according to their dignity in spiritual rhymes.

By one who is peaceful and a pilgrim striving toward the Silent Eternity; and now gathered together and brought to light for the use of the Solitary and Deserted in Zion.

Printed by the Brotherhood at Ephrata in 1747.

Collation: Foreword, 5 pp.; Preface, 14 pp.; Text, 495 pp.; Index, 7 pp.

This, so far as known, was the first hymn-book printed at Ephrata. Sixteen brothers and twenty-three sisters contributed ninety-six hymns. The remaining were by Conrad Beissel.

"Music for the new hymn-book was set in five parts for the full choir where both orders joined in worship, and in four parts for ordinary worship of the sisterhood in their chapel. For uses of the secular congregation the tunes were set in two parts and frequently written on the margin of the printed page."

Other editions of the Turtel-Taube followed in 1755 and 1762, with variations of text. The collection of hymns

<sup>\*</sup> Hildeburn, *The Issues of the Press in Pennsylvania, 1685-1784*, item 1013. Seidensticker, *A Century of German Printing, 1723-1830*, p. 27.

† Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800*, p. 144.

of the first edition, two hundred and twenty-seven in number, was prefaced by a foreword of five pages and a prologue of fourteen, the whole forming a treatise on harmony. The treatise was the composition of Beissel, though the literary portion bears evidence of the pruning of Prior Jaebez, who was undoubtedly the translator of the original version. This exposition of the fundamentals of the Beissel system is so germane to the whole subject of church music and musical life in Pennsylvania, that much of the English translation from Dr. Sachse's *Music of the Ephrata Cloister* and Beissel's *Treatise on Music* here follows.

*The Turtel-Taube of 1747. Foreword*

"It is written, 'Behold a Tabernacle of God with Men.' *Rev. 21.* There is a dam broken of the heavenly ocean, through the forthcoming of the Church. Which from eternal ages remained concealed in God, as between Father and son: but in due time appeared among men, and has now as in the last days, shown forth herself anew, with vigor and strength as in the early ages.

\* \* \* \* \*

"After the same manner in which God reveals forward into eternity through the Church, all his mysteries; it also remains for him to receive from the Church, praise, and all the glorifying of his name, unto everlasting ages. In accordance with this, it was ordained by the spirit of the Church, or heavenly dove, that the talent of singing should be added unto spiritual services, and be employed in outspreading the praise of God, unto endless ages. This talent was employed by the holy angels, in making known the near approach of the Church, when they at the incarnation of him, who was the heart of the Church: entered within her borders, and by singing gave honor unto his appearance in the flesh. . . .

“ We nevertheless found, soon upon entering into the Church, a remarkable contrariness of things, to our views preparing the way to a newness of life. For as said before, God having ordained, that through the Church his name should be glorified ; there were required voices, hymns and music written for the use of the singers. . . .

“ Now as such a selection of hymns and music adapted to the worship of God ; was not to be sought in our own abilities, nor in the power of the unsanctified mind : (for by the unsanctified mind, heaven is constantly being locked up), but in the abilities which God bestows : so we found it necessary constantly to renew our diligence in practicing self-denial, if at all heaven should again be unlocked at our natural state, and the praise of God from thence brought out. So much then, as we made it our object to gain a knowledge of church music, and to improve the talent of singing ; so much was the toil and labor to be overcome. . . .

“ On the contrary, so far as consolation is sought in the amusements of the visible world, so far we lose communion with the Church : the spirit of singing, as the heavenly dove, retreats : and the praise of God is no more heard. It is therefore of the greatest importance to be always engaged in laboring for the prosperity of the church ; and it cannot well be expressed in few words, what attention must be paid to a careful walk of life, and what acquirements are necessary, to establish excellent church music.

\* \* \* \* \*

“ In a general sense, the hymns contained in this selection, may be looked upon as roses which have grown forth from among the piercing thorns of the cross, and consequently are not without some beauty of color and pleasantness of fragrance.

“ And so far as the greater portion of them is con-

cerned, were brought to light in rigid school of the cross, within a period of many years, and for the most part by persons who labored much for the edification of the church

“The spirit of the church having taught us in the course of our spiritual labors, to place a high estimation upon the hymns of the followers of Christ, brought forth in their trials under the cross; and believing them to be instructive, we have concluded to secure them as treasures, and have in the compilation as well as in the print of this work, applied our utmost care that no errors might occur through which occasion might be taken to give our labors a low estimation.

“But to speak yet further of the compilation of this spiritual work; it is a field of flowers, grown forth of many different colors, and of various fragrances: as they were produced by the spirit of the Church, out of the *Mysteria* of God. In some the spirit of prophecy soared above all mountains of the cross; bidding defiance to his enemies; setting forth as present, the future glory of the Church. In others, the spirit trod into the inner court, and exalted his voice in the holiest of all. Again, others have the pleasant odor of roses; others, on the contrary, sprung up upon the myrrh mountains.\*

“[Now as the Church hath extended herself, so also have the voices increased in our own spiritual school, in which our hearts were the praise of the great God. And any one who has had only a limited experience in this, our spiritual school, can readily perceive that in this entire work can be found naught that reminds one of human effort or wild fancy, but that the words of the spiritual

\* This ends the fragment of the original translation, as given in Sachse's *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, pp. 53-58.

songs herein contained, sprang from many and varied emotions.

“Here we would conclude our foreword, did not an important matter still remain. For after having come into possession of so rich a treasure for the praise of God, it became a question in our spiritual school how our voices could be cultivated for spiritual song; hence such a matter of spiritual practice became imperatively necessary as would bring the voices into spiritual harmony and at the same time make our sacrifice of praise conformable to good common sense.\* Therefore we will now impart the preliminary treatise on singing, which we esteem necessary to give completeness to the work.]

*Beissel's Unique Instructions on the Voice*

“Let us now proceed directly to the subject, and show as briefly as possible, by what means and opportunities we may, but spiritually and physically, attain to this art of high degree, and then consider further whatsoever things the circumstances of the case may require. In the first place, be it observed, that divine virtue must be viewed from the summit of perfection, and occupy the first place, if one would become the right kind of pupil and thereafter a master of this exalted and divine art.

“Furthermore, both pupil and master ought to know how necessary it is, in addition to all other circumstances, to embrace every opportunity to make oneself agreeable and acceptable to the spirit of this exalted and divine virtue, inasmuch as according to our experience and knowledge it has within itself the purest and chastest spirit of eternal and celestial virginity.

“This naturally requires compliance with the demands of an angelic and heavenly life. Care must be taken of the

\* Sound reasoning would, perhaps, be a clearer translation than “good common sense”.



body, and its requirements reduced to a minimum, so that the voice may become angelic, heavenly, pure and clear, and not rough and harsh through the use of coarse food, and therefore unfit to produce the proper quality of tone. . . .

“At the same time, it is especially necessary to know what kinds of food will make the spirit teachable, and the voice flexible and clear. For it is certain that all meat dishes, by whatever name known, quite discommode us and bring no small injury to the pilgrim on his way to the silent beyond. Then there are those articles of food which we improperly derive from animals: e. g. *milk*, which causes heaviness and uneasiness; *cheese*, which produces heat . . . ; *butter*, which makes indolent and dull and satiates to such an extent that one no longer feels the need of singing or praying; *eggs*, which arouse numerous capricious cravings; *honey*, which brings bright eyes and a cheerful spirit, but not a clear voice.

“Of bread and cooked dishes, none are better for producing cheerfulness of disposition and buoyancy of spirit than *wheat* and after this *buckwheat*, which though externally different, have the same virtues in their uses, whether used in bread or in cooked dishes.

“As regards the other common vegetables, none are more useful than the ordinary *potato*, the *beet*, and other *tubers*. *Beans* are too heavy, satiate too much, . . .

“As concerns drink, it has long been settled, that nothing is better than pure, clear water, just as it comes from the well, or as made into soup to which a little bread is added. . . .

“And now, not to dwell upon this matter too long, let us take up the next part of our subject. Let us first say, however, that if we were to undertake as complete an ex-

position as the subject demands, we would fail to reach the end. Nevertheless, we will spare no pains to make it as clear as possible; but, let it be borne in mind that we will still leave something for the educated and practical (musician) to study and think over." \*

*Beissel's Dissertation on Harmony*

Translation by the Rev. J. F. Ohl, Mus. D.†

"The all-important and most useful qualification in a teacher of new pupils is first to know that he must not teach them merely to sing the A, B, C, or the seven letters, and then at once introduce them to thirds and intervals before they have learned the characteristics of each letter, or, indeed, understand what they have learned. Special care must be taken to bring out the distinguishing quality of each letter (*i. e.*, note or sound); and this requires such diligence and costs so much labor that we cannot here describe it. The voices may either be harsh and unsympathetic; or false notes, that do not reach the required pitch, may be sung. In such cases efforts must not be relaxed until it is learned and seen how much remains to be overcome; but if one seems to be totally incapable, let him desist for a time, in order that he may not become entirely discouraged.

\* Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, pp. 66-69.

† TRANSLATOR'S NOTE.—It will be evident to any musician who reads this "Dissertation," or who examines any of Beissel's compositions, that beyond the most rudimentary knowledge of the common chord and its inversions, he had little understanding of the laws of harmony, and none whatever of meter and rhythm. The work done by him and his associates is therefore correspondingly crude and inaccurate, and it becomes interesting only from the fact that it belongs to the first attempts made on American soil to compose sacred music. The translator has aimed to reproduce the evident thought of the writer rather than his exact language, which is often very obscure, and most difficult to render into idiomatic English. See also p. 49.

“When the characteristic quality of each letter (note) has been taught, diligent efforts must be made to train the voice; and such directions must be given regarding tone-production as will enable the singer himself to correct mistakes. For at this stage of the instruction everything that is needed for ultimate success may be imparted, whilst at the same time so much may be overlooked as thereafter to require years to make good the loss.

“And now let us proceed to show what constitutes a four-part tune, and what letters (notes) in the other parts must accompany the melody in the different keys; then also to give a diagram of the keys, and to indicate how the pitch may be raised when it has fallen.

“Let it be known that not more than three letters (notes) can be used for the four parts. Consequently the fourth part is always the octave. The three letters (notes), however, always appear at the beginning of each tune. Thus we obtain the four parts. The three letters (notes) which appear at the beginning must be regarded as the masters and lords that dominate everything from beginning to end, inasmuch as the tune must close with the same letters (notes) with which it began.

“If the melody is in the key of C, E is the note in the *Barrir*\* (tenor), and G in the *Toener* (alto). Thus the alto and the bass begin on G. This order may, however, be

\*“Conrad Beissel here gives an explanatory footnote regarding the use of the terms *Barrir* and *Toener*, stating that in ordinary language the former stands for tenor, the latter for alto. Both of these terms were used arbitrarily by Beissel, as neither appears to have been known to the Rev. H. Ernst Muhlenberg, the best philologist in Pennsylvania during the last quarter of the eighteenth century. In a previous translation I was misled in the use of these terms by a person to whom I submitted my copy under the impression that he was an expert musician. In the present translation the modern terms are used wherever they occur.—JULIUS F. SACHSE.”—*Music of the Cloister*, p. 73.

inverted, when, *e. g.*, the melody does not begin with C, Nevertheless these letters (notes) must remain together and begin and end the tune.

“As regards the four remaining letters (notes), F, A, B, D, which we shall designate servants, let each be told how he must serve his fellow-servants, so that they may harmonize. And although we may show all this in diagrams at the close, we will now give ourselves the additional trouble of explaining which must be the two associates of each of these letters (notes).

“If F occurs in the melody it is served by D in the tenor and bass, and by A in the alto; A demands D in the tenor and bass, and A in the alto, sometimes also in the bass; B calls for D in the tenor, and G in the alto and bass; D asks for B in the tenor, and G in the alto and bass. In this manner a melody in C may be harmonized in four parts.

“Let us now show how the pitch may be recovered when it has fallen. To do so, the beginning must always be made with the key-note. If the melody is in C, sing C, D, D $\sharp$ ; then call D $\sharp$  C, and continue on this pitch.

“Now let us proceed from the key of C to the key of A (minor). Here again let us first give attention to the three masters with which the four parts must begin and end, and then bring together the four servants and assign each his duty. As A is here the ruler, (key-note) of the melody, its associates are C in the tenor (occasionally also in the bass), and E in the alto and bass. This is the four-part chord in the key of A (minor). The remaining four servants which do duty besides, are F, G, B and D. F calls for B in the tenor, and for D in the alto and bass; G for E in the tenor and bass, and C in alto; B for G $\sharp$  in the tenor, and E in the alto and bass; D for B in the tenor,

and G in the alto and bass. If the pitch has sunk I must call the C I am singing A, ascend to a new C, call that A, and continue. Thus we also clearly see how to bring melodies in A (minor) into four-part harmony, and how to regain the pitch when it has fallen.

*Vier Stimmen. Zu fuffel zu den C. Streifen*

The image shows a musical score for four voices (Soprano, Alto, Tenor, Bass) in C major. The title is "Vier Stimmen. Zu fuffel zu den C. Streifen". The score consists of two systems of four staves each. The first system shows a melody in the soprano part, with the other parts providing harmonic support. The second system continues the melody and harmony.

Four-part key for melodies in C.

“Let us now pass from melodies in the key of A (minor) to those in the key of B $\flat$ . In the latter key B $\flat$ , D and F are the lords and masters. B $\flat$  is the key-note of the melody, D governs the tenor, and F the alto and bass, though B $\flat$  indeed remains the ruler in the bass. The four servants are G, A, C and E $\flat$ . Of these we associate G

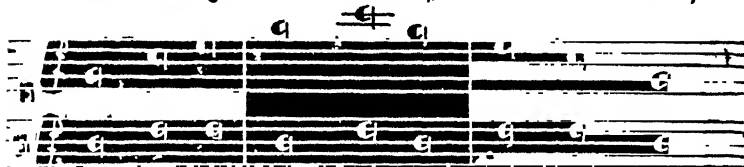
with the melody, but C with the tenor and bass (though the upper G more conveniently takes E $\flat$  in the bass), whilst the alto invariably becomes E $\flat$ . A calls for C in the tenor, and F in the alto and bass; C for A in the tenor, and F in the alto and bass; F $\flat$  for C in the tenor and bass, and G in the alto. If the pitch has fallen I call my B $\flat$  G, ascend the proper number of degrees to a new B $\flat$ , and sing on.

“And now let us look at these melodies in which G is the ruler, and B $\flat$  and D are the associates (G minor). In these we come to a wonderfully strange turn, inasmuch as altogether different letters (notes) are made to do service in the three other parts. We begin with the three masters. In these melodies the parts start with G, B $\flat$  and D. Let it be understood that the three letters (notes), invariably stay together and form the beginning of a tune in four parts; that, as already stated, the fourth part is the octave; and that it does not matter with which of these three letters (notes) a tune begins. That in our description we always begin with the letter which designates the key in which the melody is written, is done for the sake of accuracy. This is also the reason why, in our account, we seem to insinuate that all melodies begin with the letter (note) which is the chief in the melody (the key-note); yet this is not possible. In our further description we will, therefore, continue to be governed by the special characteristics of the melody. This, then, is the manner of those melodies in G that contain B $\flat$  (G minor). G in the melody takes B $\flat$  in the tenor, and D in the alto and bass. This is the chord, and it remains the same through the whole piece, excepting that when G is sustained in the melody, the tenor always sings B instead of B $\flat$ . This is also the case with melodies in A (minor), in which the tenor sings C $\sharp$  to a sus-

Der x Stimmen Schlüssel zu den c. n. k. e. j. e. n



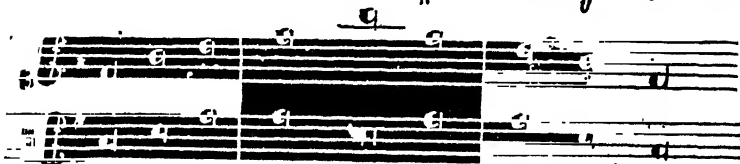
Der x Stimmen Schlüssel zu den A. n. k. e. j. e. n



Der x Stimmen Schlüssel die den g. B. u. f. f. e. n



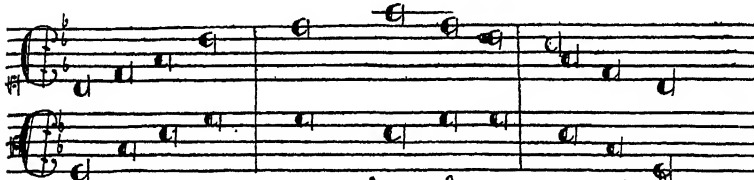
Der x Stimmen Schlüssel die den g. B. u. f. f. e. n



(1) C MAJOR, (2) A MINOR, (3) G MINOR, (4) G MAJOR.

KEY DIAGRAM FROM THE SCORE BOOK OF THE CLOISTER.

Der 4 Stimmen Schlüssel die den B maßen



Der 4 Stimmen Schlüssel die den f maßen



Der 4 Stimmen Schlüssel zu den Dis klein.



Der 4 Stimmen Schlüssel zu den c dis klein



(5) B $\frac{1}{2}$  MAJOR, (6) F MAJOR, (7) E $\frac{1}{2}$  MAJOR, (8) C MINOR.

KEY DIAGRAM FROM THE SCORE BOOK OF THE CLOISTER.



tained A in the melody. The four remaining letters (notes) F, A, C and D $\sharp$  (E $\flat$ ), serve as follows: F requires B $\flat$  in the tenor and bass, and D in the alto; A demands D in the alto and bass, and F $\sharp$  in the tenor; C calls for A in the tenor, and for F in the alto and bass; and D $\sharp$  (E $\flat$ ) is served by G in the tenor, and by E (probably meant for C—Tr.), in the alto and bass. To raise the pitch when it has sunk, proceed as under melodies in B $\flat$ .

“We now come to the melodies in G that have B and F $\sharp$  (G major), in which G, B and D form the triad and give us the four parts. The remaining letters (notes) F $\sharp$ , A, C and E are treated as follows: F $\sharp$  is served by B in the tenor (sometimes also in the bass), and by D in the alto and bass; A by D in the tenor and bass, and by F $\sharp$  in the alto; C by upper E in the tenor, and by A in the alto and bass; E by C in the tenor and bass, and by A in the alto. The directions given under melodies in B $\flat$  will show how the pitch may be raised.

“There yet remain the melodies in F, in which the triad F, A, C gives us the four parts. The remaining four servants, G, B $\flat$ , D and E are disposed as follows: G is served by C in the tenor and bass, and by E in the alto; B $\flat$  by D in the tenor, and by G in the alto and bass; D by B $\flat$  in the tenor and bass, and by G in the alto; E by C in the tenor and bass, and by A, sometimes by G in the alto. If the pitch has fallen, I do as indicated above, *i. e.*, I get another F by singing F, G, A $\flat$ , and then calling A $\flat$  F, on which pitch I continue.

“We have now imparted, as well as we are able, the secret of our spiritual song. Although in this work (the *Turtel-Taube*) we are more concerned with hymns than with tunes, and a well-informed person might ask why so much has been said about music when none appears in the

book, we have yet thought it proper to write this introduction, partly because from music the hymns in this volume derive their attire and adornment, and partly because it will stimulate lovers of this noble and paradisiacal art to inquire further into its secrets."

Thus ends Beissel's extraordinary Dissertation on Harmony, which was the basis of the Ephrata music. A few short paragraphs of an apologetic character conclude his "*Vorrede über der Sing-Arbeit.*" \*

Among the remarkable features of Ephrata life was the number of hymns written and published there within a comparatively few years. So it was that the *Turtel-Taube* of 1747 † was promptly followed by another and more important work.

As related in the *Chronicon Ephratense*, Beissel's last musical work, "by many masters declared the most important," were his choral songs. These, partly printed, partly written, were brought to light in 1754, under the title ‡ *Paradisisches Wunder-Spiel.* §

\* Sachse, *Music of the Ephrata Cloister*, pp. 70-79.

† For differences and additional hymns in subsequent editions of the *Turtel-Taube*, and a collation of one edition, *vide* Hildeburn, *op. cit.*, item 1013.

‡ See facsimile of title on following page. Collation: 1754. Folio, Title, 1 page; Chor-Gesäng, pp. 1-212; Register, 1 page. *Ibid.*, item 4629.

§ The authem, *Gott wir kommen dir entgegen*, arranged in the *Wunderspiel* to be sung antiphonally, recalls the tradition alluded to in the *Chronicon* p. 167: that the angels singing antiphonally appeared in a vision to St. Ignatius, and thus the celestial method found a place in church worship. A letter from Pliny to Trajan makes clear that the custom had been established in the Bithynian churches as early as the second century.

**Paradisches  
Wunder-Spiel,**  
welches sich  
in wenigen Tagen  
in christlichen Welt-Theilen als ein Vor-  
theil hervor gethan. Bestehende  
aus neuen und ungewöhnlichen Sing-  
weisen auf Weise der Englischen und himm-  
lischen Chören eingerichtet.

Wie auch das hohe Lied Salomos  
in seinen Reizen aus der Bibel und andern Heiligen  
Schriften in Melodien gebracht. Neben nicht weniger der Zerstörung der  
Bau des Laus, sammt der Zubereitung auf den künftigen  
Welt-Tag trefflich Paß, etc. wird.

Es ist in dieser Welt weder Namen noch Titel suchen.

**Friedsamen,**

EPHRATA Sumptibus Societatis: 1754.

Title-page of Paradisches Wunder-Spiel, 1754

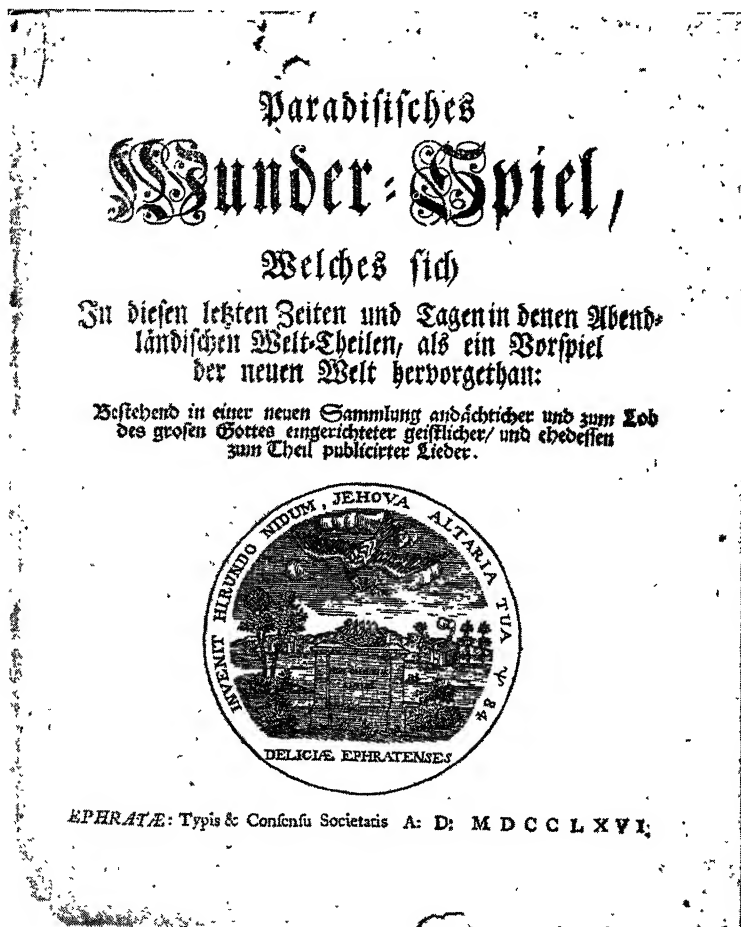
From Maxwell Collection

*Paradisisches | Wunder-Spiel, | Welches sich | In diesen  
 letzten Zeiten und Tagen | In denen Abend-Ländischen Welt-  
 Theilen als ein Vor- | spiel der neuen Welt hervor gethan.  
 Bestehende | In einer gantz neuen und ungemeinen Sing- |  
 Art auf Weise der Englischen und himm- | lischen Chören  
 eingerichtet. | Da dann das Lied Mosis und des Lamms, wie  
 auch das hohe Lied Salomo- | nis samt noch mehrern Zeugnis-  
 sen aus der Bibel und andern Heiligen | in liebliche Melodyen  
 gebracht. Wobey nicht weniger der Zuruf der | Braut des  
 Lamms, sammt der Zubereitung auf den herzlichen | Hochzeit-  
 Tag trefflich Praefigurirt wird | Alles nach Englischen Chören  
 Gesangs-Weise mit viel Mühe und grosem Fleiss | ausgefertigt  
 von einem | Friedsamem, | Der sonst in dieser Welt weder  
 Namen noch Titul suchet. EPHRATÆ Sumptibus Societatis,  
 1754.*

Translation : "Paradisiacal Wonder Music,\* which in these latter times and days became prominent in the occidental parts of the world as a prevision of the New World, consisting of an entirely new and uncommon manner of singing, arranged in accord with the angelic and heavenly choirs. Herein the song of Moses and the Lamb, also the Song of Solomon, and other witnesses out of the Bible and from other saints, are brought into sweet harmony. Everything arranged with much labor and great trouble,

\* *Chronicon Ephratense*, Ephrata, 1786. This is one of the scarcest of Ephrata publications and the richest source of information. A narrative of the life and labors of Conrad Beissel, it is also the official history of the origin and development of the Community and the chronicle of its every-day doings. Without it no intelligent understanding of the mystical group of men and women, who, a century and a half ago, were unique in the annals of America would be possible. This work was translated from the original German by J. Max Hark, D. D., and printed at Lancaster, in 1889, under the title *Chronicon Ephratense; A History of the Community of the Seventh Day Baptists at Ephrata, Lancaster County, Penna.* By Lamech and Agrippa.—Vide p. 167 for translation as above.

ately printed and pasted upon the title. The seal, with its curious inscription, which has brought forth so many diverse explanations from various writers, is simply symbolical of the third verse of the eighty-fourth Psalm.



Title-page of *Paradisches Wunder-Spiel*, 1766  
From copy in Maxwell Collection

The general title is the same as the folio of 1754. The contents are, however, different. The former was a book of choruses and anthems; the latter, the last and most extensive collection of Ephrata hymns, without musical notation, 725 in number. Most of these had previously been printed in the Franklin hymn-books of 1730-1736, and, in the *Turtel-Taube* and its appendices. The preface to this edition was by Prior Jaebez. It dealt with the particularities of the Community and the virtues of Conrad Beissel. All hymns down to page 297 are of Beissel's composition, 441 hymns; and this section is to be considered as Part one. Part two contains 72 hymns, written by the Brethren, concluding with *Das Bruder-Lied* of 215 stanzas and a *Nachklang*. Part three has ninety-nine hymns contributed by the Sisterhood of Saron, with the sub-title *Ein angenehmer Geruch der Rosen und Lilien*, and followed by *Das Schwester-Lied* of 250 verses, three lines each. Part four has 111 hymns, chiefly by members of the secular congregation. A copy of this edition, in the Pennypacker sale of 1908, gave information, hitherto unknown, as to some of the hymn writers. The copy had, at one time, belonged to one of the Brotherhood who had inserted, beside the hymns beginning with page 297, the names of the Brethren and Sisters who wrote them.\*

Like all books printed for the Society the edition was small and copies are now rare. The volumes, not intended for sale were bound, seemingly, to suit the taste and convenience of the owner, and many were the irregularities by way of additions and omissions.

Other issues of the Ephrata press there were, even to the very end of the eighteenth century, but its mystical hymnody no longer called for reprint and is now only a

\* Pennypacker Catalogue, Part vii, lot 153.

**ODER** an Herrscher aller Heyden, der sein Volk bald wird herrlich leiten,  
und ihr Recht lassen hoch bercehn: wenn **ICH** Zion schön wird  
schmücken, ihr Heil wird lassen naher rücken, so wird man Freud- und Bönne sehr



an Einem Eigenthum, das nun gibt Preis und Ruhm **GOTT** dem König,  
der sie erhöht, ihr Völker sehet wie **GOTT**s Braut nun einhergeht. 196.



*Gott ein Herrscher aller Heyden.*

A seven-part motet from the *Wunder-Spiel*, 1754, p. 199.

memory, scarcely that. Occasionally, to one familiar with Pennsylvania's musical beginnings, there may come, perchance, as an echo from the past, a strain of the Beissel hymn *Gott ein Herrscher aller Heyden*, the musical score of which is on the previous page.

### THE CHORAL BOOKS

THE Ephrata Cloister appears to have been one of the last places in which was preserved and practiced, to any great degree, the art of illumination of books so general in the Middle Ages.

A pressing need of musical scores, for the use of the celibate and secular groups, was an early outcome of the singing schools. With the need came the incentive for the cultivation of transcription and duplication of musical notation. The copy followed for Ephrata music, says the *Chronicon*, was an old German tune-book engraved on copper and printed at Augsburg. So diligently was the copying practiced that soon the written book surpassed the engraved prototype.

After a high degree of proficiency had been attained by both sexes, it was resolved, at a general council, that both convents present to the *Capellmeister* a worthy testimonial of esteem, in the form of two complete music books arranged for all voices; one to be the work of the Brotherhood, the other that of the Sisters. To the accomplishment of this labor of love both orders appointed their most dexterous members. On the part of the Brethren three, possibly five, worked diligently for nine months. When completed, the volume contained about five hundred hymn-tunes for five voices, the music beautifully ornamented by pen-work in several colors, and, on every leaf elaborate marginal designs. As a dedication page, the *Meister's*



name appeared in Gothic text, surrounded by a skillfully designed border containing five legends as a text of blessing by each brother.\* The Sisters' work was no less remarkable, for many were gifted in the arts of transcription and illumination, and two, Anastasia and Effigenia,† displayed unusual skill in this part of Cloister work. This remarkable manuscript music book of 1745, is now in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. It had been, at one time, in the possession of Franklin, probably loaned by Brother Jaebez.‡ A music-book of 1746, possibly the one for four voices presented by Beissel to the music-teaching Brethren, as recorded in the *Chronicon*, is in the Collections of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

From another beautifully executed choral book § of 1745 have been taken, by the courtesy of the Society, the following illustrations, which show not only the musical score but the mystical tulip, pomegranate, lilies and doves, emblems most frequent in Ephrata ornamentation.

\* Cf. *Chronicon Ephratense*, pp. 167-9.

† These sisters are credited with the supervision of the writing-room. The former, Sister Anastasia, Anna Thomen, or Thoma, was most active in the singing classes. She contributed to the fourth part, first edition, of the *Turtel-Taube*, 1747, the words and music of hymn No. 98: *Wie ist doch der Herr so gütig*. This, a five-part choral for the full choir, has been reduced to modern notation. After the decease of Beissel she arranged a love feast, August 29, 1768, in honor of the departed Vorsteher, one feature of which was a hymn of eulogy: *Ein Lob-Lied dem in Gott geehrten Vatter Friedsam zum Andencken abgesungen*. Later she became the third wife of John Wister, the Philadelphia merchant, whose country-seat at Germantown was the scene of much Revolutionary history. She left no descendants and sleeps in an unmarked grave in Quaker ground, at Fourth and Arch Streets, Philadelphia. Sally Wister, her husband's granddaughter, author of the famous *Journal* was "passionately fond of music," had "the voice of a raven," and much "needle wisdom." Sister Effigenia, Anna Lichty, also contributed a hymn to the *Turtel-Taube*.—*Sachse, op. cit.*, pp. 146, 187, 203, 463.

‡ Vide Appendix 2.

§ This had belonged to Susanna Gorgas, and was presented to the Historical Society by the Rev. Peter Wolle of Lititz.

60. **D**ER Bräutigam kommt, 5m.

**D**ER das Wort hat aus: 288.

**D**ER du bist A und D. Au: 556

Pages of Choral Book of the Ephrata Cloister, 1745 : Music for  
Collections of the Historical



Hymns on pages 288, 514, 556 of the Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel, 1739  
Society of Pennsylvania



Pages of Choral Book of the Ephrata Cloister, 1745; Music for  
Collections of the Historical



Hymns on pages 230, 655, 663 of the Weyrauchs Höl, 1739  
Society of Pennsylvania



Pages of Choral Book of the Ephrata Cloister. 1<sup>st</sup> 45, Music  
Collections of the Historical



for Hymns on pages 248, 616, 671 of the Weyrauchs Hügel, 1739  
Society of Pennsylvania

So expert did the Brothers and Sisters become that the work of copying was quickly done. A notation in a four part music book, such as was used by the secular congregation, and, at one time in the Sachse Collection, stated that, Brother Benjamin began work on the twentieth day of February and finished it on the twenty-seventh of June in the same year. The manuscript contained 248 pages of written music with 372 melodies, eight pages of elementary musical exercises and a good index. The pen-work was beautifully done without erasure or blot, even the staff being ruled by pen.\*

With the gradual decline of the institution and the lessening usefulness of the music the Choral books, the one-time pride of the Cloister, became widely scattered during the passing years. Some found asylum at Snow Hill on the Antietam, the mission of Ephrata. Others came to occupy places of honor in private collections, notably those of the late Governor Pennypacker, the late Dr. Julius F. Sachse and the present Henry D. Maxwell, while still others found permanent lodgment in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania and in the Library of Congress.

Mention of some of these scattered and reclaimed choral books may here be germane :

One of 1745, in original manuscript containing the musical score for the hymns of the *Zionitischer Weyrauchs Hügel*, printed by Saur in 1747. It consists of several hundred pages in pen-work, with many highly ornamental devices. It was used only in the Cloister and has a printed index.†

\* Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800*, p. 305.

† Pennypacker Catalogue, Part vii, lot 123.



A second manuscript volume of 1745, of one hundred and fifty pages of music, also for the *Weyrauchs Hügel* hymns, has numerous illustrations of flowers and birds. It too was for Cloister use and has a printed index.\*



Title-page of Manuscript of Ephrata Choral Book  
From the Maxwell Collection

A third music book for the *Weyrauchs Hügel* has two hundred and ninety pages of pen-work, ornamented with initial letters and other decorations in colors. This, also of

\* Pennypacker Catalogue, Part vii, lot 124.

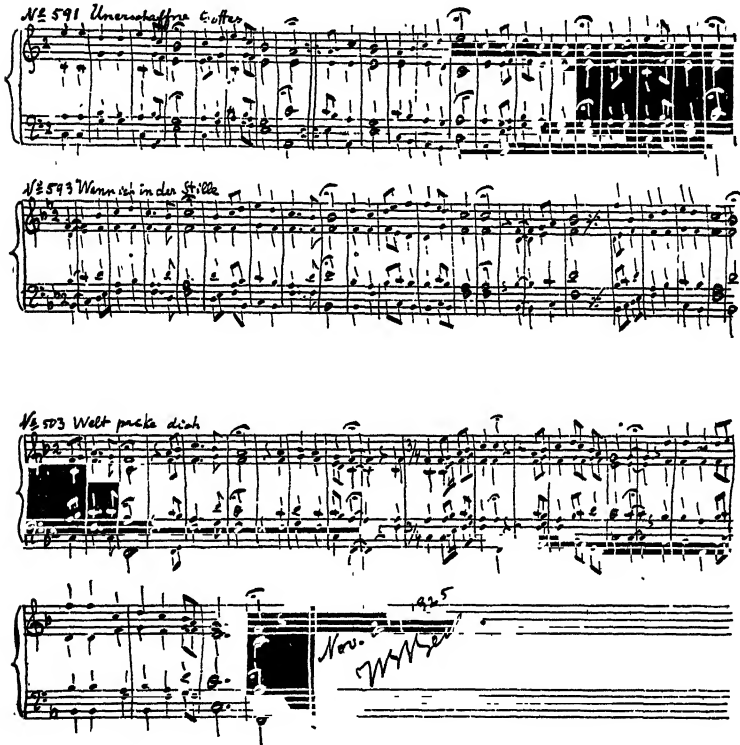


Pages of Choral Book of Ephrata Cloister, 1745; Music for Hymns

591, 593, 503, of the Weyrauchs Hügel, 1739

Collections of The Historical Society of Pennsylvania

1745, is a unique specimen of the Sisters' art. Each initial letter has a colored flower and there are twelve elaborate designs in color. It was not completed by the Sister artist and lacks the music for four hymns. This, as well as the two preceding manuscript volumes, belonged, in 1908, to the Pennypacker Collection.\*



Music for Hymns 591, 593, 503, in modern notation  
Transcribed by Dr. J. B. Beck, of the University of Pennsylvania

Another Choral book, in the possession of the Historical Society, beautifully written, illuminated, and of the

\* *Ibid.*, lot 125.

same period, with music for the *Weyrauchs Hügel*, differs in decoration from the foregoing.

Still another, a small quarto volume of no date, in the Maxwell Collection, is a fine example of pen and ink work. Its six lines of clearly written text is divided, every two lines, by music scores for four voices. The text of and notation for the *Song of Solomon* occupies fifty-two of its sixty-eight pages. A facsimile of this title page will be found on page 75.

Also a rare and full copy of *Das Gesang Der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube Nemlich der Christlichen Kirche*, Ephrata, 1747; Quarto, 495 pages, with manuscript music for 589 of the hymns.\* This differs from others in having an additional stanza printed to the hymns on page 50.† With it was bound *Nachklang zum Gesang der einsamen Turtel-Taube Enthaltend eine neue Sammlung Geistlicher Lieder*. Ephrata, Drucks der Bruderschafft. Im Jahr, 1755.

The Pennypacker Collection had listed an additional unique manuscript music book, for the hymns of the *Turtel-Taube*, of about 1747. This was called the *Mittel-Buch*.‡

A music book in neat manuscript with colored ornamentation, written by one of the Sisters, 1762, was also of that Collection. It contained the music to which were sung the hymns in the *Neu vermehrtes Gesäng der einsamen Turtel-Taube*. On the back of cover was inscribed "*Diese Zions stime gehöret Caspar Fordine, in Lancaster. Welche mir Peter Miller mit Verwilligung der brüder 17 May 1772 Verehret in Ephrata.*"

\* Pennypacker Catalogue, Part VIII; lot 128, lot 146. Now in Library of Congress.

† Hildeburn, *Issues of the Press*, item 1013, gives an excellent summary, by Samuel W. Pennypacker, of this and subsequent editions.

‡ Lot 132. "See Snowberger's History for account of it and the music."

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REV. JOHANN PETER MILLER, BROTHER JAEBEZ  
OR AGRIPPA

No sketch of the Ephrata Cloister, however inadequate in picturing its contribution to eighteenth century Pennsylvania music, should close without brief mention of Brother Jaebez, the second dominating personality of that remarkable group.

The son of a Reformed minister, Johann Peter Miller was born in 1710, at Altborn, Oberamt Kaiserslautern in the Palatinate. He studied at Heidelberg, was matriculated at the University December 29, 1725, and became well learned in theology, jurisprudence and the languages. In 1730 the young deacon responded to an urgent call, from Pennsylvania, for clergy to minister to its increasing German population, and arrived in Philadelphia, August 28 of that year. He was licensed to preach by the Presbytery of Philadelphia "where Providence may give him opportunity." Under date of 8th month 14, 1730, the Rev. Jedediah Andrews of Philadelphia wrote of him to Rev. Thomas Prince of Boston: "He is an extraordinary person for sense and learning. . . . His name is John Peter Miller, and he speaks Latin as we do our venacular tongue."

A few months later he was installed over a field embracing the congregations of Tulpehocken, Cocalico (Muddy Creek), Weisseichenland (White Oak), and Lancaster town. After a few years of labor in the Reformed faith, he relinquished his charges and entered the Ephrata Community, accepting its doctrines as to baptism and the Sabbath. When, in 1735, he affiliated with Ephrata he was the most learned German in the Dunker movement in America. During the printing of the *Weyrauch's Hügel*, 1738-9, he

was its proof reader and general supervisor. He afterwards translated from the Low Dutch the *Martyr Book* of the Mennonites, upwards of fifteen hundred pages, and was the master-spirit in the printing of this great undertaking at Ephrata in 1749. Sufficiently learned in the law, he was able to successfully represent the Community in open court on several occasions, though less so when the title to the Cloister was in dispute with Samuel Eckerlin. During the Revolution, in the young country's hour of need, he translated the Declaration of Independence into seven European languages, which translations were forwarded to as many countries. Before and after his succession to Beissel as Superintendent of the Cloister, he exercised great diligence in his fostering care of the Ephrata mission congregations west of the Susquehanna. His solicitude for those at Antietam and Bermudian was marked even in his declining years. He loved his fellow-men and reached them by his unselfish helpfulness. His contacts with the Penn family, Francis Hopkinson, Washington and Franklin are well known, as is the fact of his election to membership in the American Philosophical Society, April 8, 1768, and his philosophical contributions thereto.\*

He knew something of music theoretically and was a hymn writer. No less than seven of his hymns are incorporated in the first edition of the *Turtel-Taube*.

In commenting in the *Chronicon* on the revival of the singing schools he wrote:

Beissel "explained the first principles of singing so

\* *Early Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society for the Promotion of Useful Knowledge, Compiled by one of the Secretaries* [Henry Phillips, Jr.] *from the Manuscript Minutes of its Meetings from 1744 to 1838* (Philadelphia, 1884), pp. 32, 42, 95, 116, 177. One of Peter Miller's important papers before the Society bore the title: *German passengers who arrived in the Port of Philadelphia from August 19, 1729 to October 1, 1789—an accurate account taken from original sources.*

simply that even a child could understand them; therefore he did not care for the artificial terms of the masters, which rather obscure than enlighten the art. Accordingly, whenever he took a hymn in hand, in order to compose a tune to it, he was careful to represent the spirit of the hymn by the tune, then after he had composed a choral-song, he fixed the metre, not according to custom, but as the nature of the thing required it. He, however, soon found out that some of the melodies were very strained, and that notes occurred which did not belong there. Thus he discovered the key, for every key has its own peculiarity, and adopts only such notes as are natural to it, and this is the reason why the melodies of Lobwasser have a strained sound, because the key to them was not understood, and notes were thus used which were not suitable. In order that he might not make mistakes in composition, he had for each key certain dominant notes, commonly four\* to the octave, which he called rulers, but the three other notes, servants. Thus in the *f* tunes, *f*, *a* *c* *f*, are the rulers, but *g*, *b*, *d* the servants, and, although it sounds ill if a servant is made ruler, the composer, nevertheless, must know when it is proper to swerve into another key. This gives a very charming variation to the song, provided it resolves itself again into the original key before the end. The Superintendent was a master in this. . . .

"When he attempted to compose the bass and middle voices he encountered new difficulties, for you must know that vocal music, as well as *mathesis*, have their unalterable first principles, which angels even observe in their song. These he did not know, neither was he able, like masters in music, to find the concordance by means of instruments; at last he invented certain schedules, a special one for each key, in which he laid down the proportion between the soprano and the other voices, whereby composition was greatly facilitated. For instance, in the key of *f*, the *f* in the soprano corresponds to *a* in the tenor, and *c* in the alto; the bass, however, has the octave of the middle voices. All his tunes have two basses; but he also composed some for six voices, and even for seven, namely, two soprano, one alto, two tenor, and two basses for that purpose, however, he after all had to use two octaves."

\* In reality it is the opposite way; Beissel adopted 3 rules, and 4 servants. In the Key of F the notes F, A, C, were the rules, and the servants were G, B-flat, D, E,—Vide ante, p. 58.

The following letter to Benjamin Franklin, a fellow member of the Philosophical Society, will show his outlook on Handel's deflection from oratorio to opera, and the place vocal music was intended to occupy in the scheme of life :

“After we had Satiated our philosophical Appetite in your Excellency's learned Letters so far as our Capacity would admit, I return the same thankfully: it is astonishing, how much our present Age is refined by so many useful Discoveries. By Your Excellency's Observations on Handels Compositions I Suppose, that you are still a Patron of Vocal Music, which is an excellent Study, and a Science inferior to none in all the World, She claims a Share in Mathematiks, and her rules are so uniform over all the World, as that 2 times 2 are four Besides there is nothing that gives greater Delectation to human Minds than Vocal Music, as Plato says: *Musicum divini quid spirare*. if she sounds out the Praise of the Most High, for which she is solely calculated. Her noble Character was greatly abused by Handel and others in theatrical Diversions, and they have greatly hurted her heavenly Sweetness by their curl'd Compositions, when they, as Your Excellency has well observed, sometimes dwell two Minutes on one Syllable, which is a great Nonsance in Music. Further it is a grand Mistake in a Concert, when all Sorts of Instruments are joined with the vocal Music without Consideration, for thereby the Dignity of the human Voice is eclipsed: and I am of Opinion, that among all musical Instruments non would insinuate itself better with human Voices than Your Excellency's new-invented Glass-Organ. The human Voice is a most noble Instrument, by which a Man may reveal his most intimate Recesses, even as God Himself made known by His eternal Word: many ways have been contriv'd to refine the Voice for Singing. . . . I should think, the Convents would afford the best Voices without violating Nature, and what I have learn'd by Experience, is, that with a Convent-Man his juvenile Voice returns, when sixty years old, and I know Sundry, who have sung the Bass in their youth and are now employ'd in the highest voice, I beg Your Pardon for my Garrulity, and wish that the Lord our God would prolong your Days



for the public Utility, and grant you his paternal Assistance,  
in all heavy Struggles, which may befall you in Your  
grand Age, in wishing this I remain

Your Excellency's

Ephrata the

most humble Friend

10th of Oct: 1786.

Peter Miller

To His Excellency Benjamin Franklin \*

Peter Miller died at Ephrata, September 25, 1796, aged eighty-six years, nine months, and was interred beside his friend, Conrad Beissel, in the little God's Acre near the Cloister. All accounts agree that Brother Jaabez was a man of noble character, strong, gentle, forgiving; perhaps, too a very brilliant preacher. Francis Hopkinson, churchman, musician and poet, in his poem, *To Peter Miller at Ephrata*, emphasizes the difference in outward worship between the lofty rituals of the Episcopal church and the simplicity of that at Ephrata, and writes:

"Tis true devotion—and the Lord of love  
Such prayers and praises kindly will approve,  
Whether from golden altars they arise,  
And wrapt in sound and incense reach the skies,  
Or from your Ephrata so meek and low,  
In soft and silent aspirations flow."†

In his poetic *Legend of Ephrata*,‡ Joseph Henry Dubbs, D. D., late of Franklin and Marshall College, makes the good Prior, Peter Miller, plead with Washington, during the dark days of the Revolution, for the life of a neighbor Tory sympathizer and spy who was, withal, his own enemy.

\* Cf. Sachse, *The German Sectarians of Pennsylvania, 1742-1800*, 435.

† Cf. Rev. S. G. Zervass, B.D., *Souvenir Book of the Ephrata Cloister*, pp. 25, 26.

‡ Cf. Bittinger, *German Religious Life in Colonial Times*, pp. 112, 113 note.

“ The chieftain (Washington) mused: ‘ Such love is rare,  
And I cannot deny your earnest prayer,  
I will save the life of the British spy;  
He must leave the country, but shall not die.  
You have taught a lesson that all should know,  
That a Christian prays for his vilest foe.’ ”

Scholarly, pious, and an ordained minister of the Reformed church, from which came nearly all the leading recruits to the Ephrata movement,\* Peter Miller is described as a man of good stature, with a kindly face and friendly manner. He was open-hearted towards those to whom he took a liking and was modest and genial, upon which account strangers always tried to get an introduction to him and sought his society.†

His part in the Tulpehocken confusion, so called, is exhaustively treated of by Dr. Schmauck; ‡ as is his friendship for Conrad Weiser, which friendship carried them together in religious affairs in their young manhood; later, through a religious change, and, after they had separated for life, continued unbroken to the end.

\* Sachse, *The German Secretarians of Pennsylvania, 1708-1742*, pp. 211, 233.

† Acrelius, *History of New Sweden*, p. 374.

‡ Theodore Emanuel Schmauck, *A History of the Lutheran Church in Pennsylvania, 1638-1820*, p. 471 et seq.

## SCHWENKFELDER HYMNOLOGY



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## SCHWENKFELDER HYMNOLOGY

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CASPAR VON SCHWENKFELD, founder and leader of the sect which bears his name, was born at Ossig, in Silesia in 1490. While in the service of the Duke of Liegnitz he embraced the Reformation with great warmth. When, later on, he came in conflict with the Reformers through his refusal to recognize the doctrine of transubstantiation, and declared that a church should be established which recognized only the saints, the truly converted, as members, he was obliged to leave the Lutheran neighborhood of the Duke, and in 1529 went to Strasburg. His teaching became known as *The Middle Way*. In 1533 he was suspected of Anabaptism, tried and banished, and, passing two years at Augsburg, where Lutheran antagonism again persecuted him, he finally settled in the more liberal atmosphere of Ulm, where he made his headquarters, going about from there on preaching tours for long journeys. He died in Ulm, December 10th, 1562, aged seventy-two years.

The Schwenkfelders of Silesia, however, had been sufficiently impressed by this Reformer, even before he took his departure from their neighborhood, to call themselves by his name and to follow his teachings. In his absence they were never altogether out of touch with him and this group remained the leaders of the sect, which grew in faith in proportion as their trials increased, for two centuries after the death of the founder. His *Confession of Faith* and his numerous religious works remained their guide as the sect grew and spread.

Deeply ingrained in the German soul is the love of music, and the rich melodies of the Schwenkfelder church

worship and devotional hymns at once sought expression. But the law of the land proscribed their literature and the use of the press was forbidden them. They, therefore, at once set about the transcription of the works of their various writers, and the quantity and beauty of the wonderful manuscript volumes, still extant in perfect condition, are truly amazing.

On account of religious persecution several hundred Schwenkfelders fled from their homes in Silesia to Saxony in 1726, and of these about forty families emigrated to Pennsylvania in 1734. Their hymnody before this date is in collections for church use and family worship on which last they laid great emphasis. One of these collections, in manuscript, was brought over with them and for twenty-eight years industriously re-transcribed and circulated by pious hands.

Of this period the late Samuel W. Pennypacker, in an address delivered in 1891 \* says: "Their literature was extensive and interesting. It is reproduced for the most part in huge folios, written upon paper made at the Rittenhouse paper-mill on the Wissahickon, the earliest in America. These volumes sometimes contained a thousand pages, bound in stamped leather with brass corners and brass mounting." Six folios, numerous quartos, and other collections in great variety were prepared for church use, and there are extant today many manuscript hymn-books arranged for their household worship. A beautiful autograph copy of the Bohemian Hymnal of 1606, owned by George Schultz, and brought over by the Schwenkfelders on the *Saint Andrew* in 1734, is in their Historical Library at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania, where are also many other rare manuscript volumes.

\* Address of ex-Gov. S. W. Pennypacker, at first Annual Meeting of the Pennsylvania-German Society, October, 1891.

The chief authority on the subject of Schwenkfelder hymnology \* Dr. Seipt, gives a valuable descriptive and chronological bibliography of the collections, manuscript and printed. He names also the earlier hymn writers of Europe of this sect, starting with Valentin Crautwald, who died in 1545. In this brief summary concern lies only with the hymns written after the emigration to America in 1734. There are, however, many hymns in use in their churches today which were written in this early period by such leaders as Adam Reissner, Daniel Sudermann, Martin John, Jr., and others. It is not known whether Schwenkfeld himself wrote many hymns. Only one or two survive. His motto was *Nil triste Christo recepto*. This he amplified :

“ Wenn singt im Hertzen Gottes Geist,  
In Christo Gott wird recht gepreist;  
Wenn aber singt der fleischlich Christ,  
Solch Lob für Gott ein Greuel ist.”

A very beautiful hymn on the deception of temporal joy was written, in 1584, by Daniel Sudermann (1550-1631), sometimes called the prince of Schwenkfelder hymn-writers. Between 1594 and 1610 Sudermann was wholly absorbed in the study of the mystics. His hymns of these and later years are enriched by the sentiment and imagery of these Christian writers of whom Johann Tauler (1300-61), was for Sudermann the master-teacher. He was the author of 2500 hymns and other religious poems, of which 435 have appeared in print, says Seipt, and

\* Allen Anders Seipt, A. M., Ph.D. Acknowledgment is here made for indebtedness to his *Schwenkfelder Hymnology, and the Sources of the First Schwenkfelder Hymn-Book Printed in America*, which, with Howard Wiegner Kriebel's *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania*, have been the guides in the preparation of this article.



Title-page and Sub-title page, Hymn Book of the Bohemian  
Schwenkfelder Historical Library (Schultz-





Brethren, Edition of 1606. Autograph copy of George Schultz  
Johnson Collection) at Pennsburg, Pennsylvania

further quotes from Schneider,\* "Schwenkfeld's flow of language, Reissner's brevity and Tauler's fervor reflected in his writing." One stanza of the hymn before alluded to must here suffice :

"VON DER FALSCHEN BETRUEGLICHEN WELTFREUDE

" O blinde Welt, wie hast du mich gestöret  
 Von Jugend vff vnd noch in diese Zeit,  
 O arge Welt, wie hastu mich bethöret  
 Vnd abgebracht von rechter Bahn so weit!  
 O falsche Welt,  
 Wollust vnd Gelt,  
 Wee dem ewig, der auff dich helt."

Of all the Schwenkfelder hymn-writers in both Europe and America, the two greatest names are Daniel Suderman and Adam Reissner. The latter (1496-1575?) is the author of many hymns, the most widely known of which—*In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr*, is used to-day in every hymn-book of the Schwenkfelders and of many other Protestant churches throughout the land. It is a metrical version of the Thirty-first Psalm. Many times has it been translated and is to be recognized by the first line: "In Thee, Lord, have I put my trust," or "Lord, I have trusted in Thy name." Both the Bohemian and Moravian hymn-books included it. The old version of the first edition (1533) runs thus:

IN TE DOMINE SPERAUI

" In dich hab ich gehoffet, Herr.  
 hilf, das ich nit, zu schanden wer  
 noch ewiglich zu spotte.  
 Des bitt ich dich,  
 erhalte mich  
 in deiner treu, mein Gotte.

\* A. F. H. Schneider, *Zur Literatur der Schwenkfeldischen Liederdichter bis Daniel Sudermann*. Berlin, 1857.

The earlier hymns in use by the Schwenkfelders before the emigration were, however, not confined to those written by their own people. It is recognized by their historians that the hymns of the German Protestants, followers of John Hus, the Bohemian Brethren (Moravians) and others, especially in Silesia, were quite generally in use. At least twelve copies of the hymn-book of the Bohemian Brethren, edition of 1566, were brought by the Schwenkfelders to their new homes in Pennsylvania, mainly along the branches of the Skippack and the Perkiomen. Some of these copies, which were rebound while still in use, says Dr. Seipt, "were supplied with blank leaves on which were added in manuscript the hymns used by the sect, but not contained in the Bohemian hymn-book." Which fact, continues the learned author, "is a striking corroboration of our thesis, that the Schwenkfelders probably at no time used only the hymns of the Bohemian Brethren." It must be said, however, that most of the Protestant churches of Germany and Great Britain are beneficiaries in the great bequest left to them by the Bohemian hymn-writers. The copies brought to Pennsylvania include all editions issued from the death of Schwenkfeld, in 1561, to the end of the seventeenth century; and the eminent hymnodist Rev. Balthaser Hoffmann records that this hymnal was still in common use among the Schwenkfelders at the opening of the eighteenth century. Some of their hymns were altered and adapted to the Schwenkfelder *Confession of Faith*, and Dr. Seipt asserts that "in the matter of arrangement, the hymn-books of the Schwenkfelders printed in America all retain the stamp of the quarto editions of the Bohemian hymnal." \*

\* Cf. Seipt, pp. 58-59.

**Vom Tod vnd sterben.**

Ehr sol gehn in vollem schwang/ dein Werck, nach deiner lust, vnt-  
all vnser lebenlang. fren Nachkommen zeige deine chr/  
Erfreue vns, HERR, nach sol- all vnser Werck segne vnd mehr/  
cher langen plag / vollend in vns ein seligs End beschere. Amen.

*Co die hems eminus.*

**Erlisch ehr vnd zeitlich Guts Wollust vnd aler v-**

**bermunt / ist eben wie ein Gras: aler prachte vnd stol her ruhm /**

**verfelle als ein Wiesenblum! O Mensch, bedenck e hen das vnd ver-**

**sorge dich noch das.**

**Dein End bild dir täglich für /**  
gedenck der Tod ist für der Thür /  
vnd wil mit dir davon: er klopfte an  
vnd du must fraus / vnd da wird  
nichts anders aus: hettestu nū rechte  
gethan / so findestu gulten Lohn.  
Wenn die Seel von himmen fehrt  
vnd ihr Leib von Würmen verzehrt  
wider wird auffersich / als den für  
Göttlicher krafft / geben sollen re-  
chen schaffe: Wie wird er da be-  
sehn / weil er jet wil müßig gehn!

Dem, dort wird ein reines Herz  
viel mehr gelten denn alle Schatz  
vnd aller Menschen gutt. Wer  
sich hie verführet mit GOTT / der  
wird dort nicht leiden not: Wer  
set GOTTes willen thut / der wird  
dort sein wolgemut.

Ein gutt Gewissen allein ist viel  
besser denn Edlstein / vnd kößli-  
cher denn Gold: Wer das selb  
langen wil / muß kommen zu Chri-  
sti Füll / der vergibe ihm seine schuld  
sieht ihm bey, vnd ist ihm hold.

Kein Reichthum, keine gewalt /  
auch kein Geld noch schön gestalt  
hilffte was zur seligkeit! Es sey den  
das hertz zugleich in Göttlichen ga-  
7 uen der selbe in Christo ben  
erlangt / vnd ihm erdenklich  
Anhangt.

*Mat. 5. 26  
Hebr. 11. 34  
Röm. 8. 34  
Mat. 2. 11  
Jerm. 16. 20  
2. 6  
Luc. 11. 13  
Jerm. 21. 24  
Joh. 1. 12*



1606, Schwenkfelder Historical Library (Schultz-Johnson Collection)

*Note:* The above is pen work in colors and not a part of original print

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**Von dem Heiligen**  
**Leiden vnd unschuldigen Tod**  
 vnd thewrem Blutvergiessen Jesu Chri-  
 sti, fur vnser vnd der gantzen  
 Welt Sünde.

**N**etzt vns all\* Christi wunder:  
 \*Der Sa tan bracht vns in Sünd

haren Tod, mit heis vnd Wunde  
 allzu mahl, vnd durch die Sünd in

pret sein da durch sein krafft an vns stais er weisen: Denn wir  
 den Lode: Christus a ber versühnt vns wider mit Gott: da er

er lö set sein: Er  
 of sendet: Er  
 nun

† Mat. 21. 42.  
 L. 12.  
 Dan. 9. 26.  
 Mat. 17. 50  
 L.  
 Luc. 21. 44.  
 Act. 9. 37.  
 Joh. 1. 2. 12.  
 1 Cor. 2. 2.

† Joh. 11. 26  
 Joh. 11. 27.

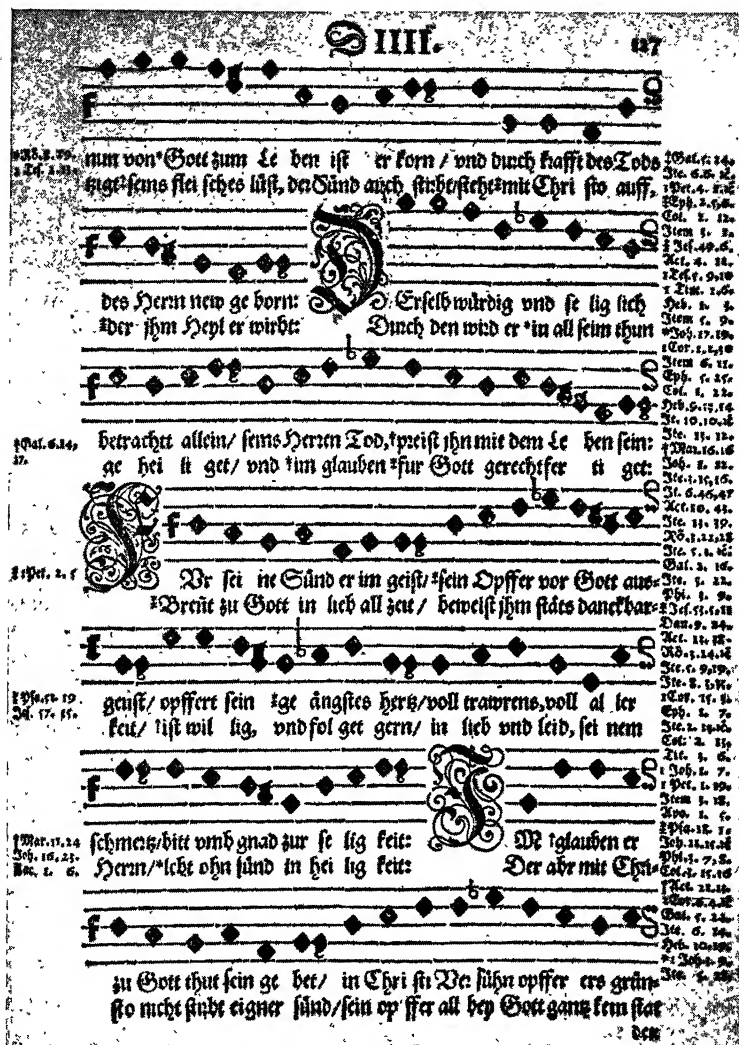
† Joh. 6. 62.  
 Phil. 1. 10.  
 1 Joh. 2. 11.  
 Luc. 1. 29.  
 Act. 20. 18.  
 1 Cor. 1. 14.

† Gal. 1. 4.  
 Rom. 1. 11.  
 Joh. 1. 2. 12.  
 Apo. 1. 9.

† Gen. 1. 2.  
 2 Cor. 11.

† Gen. 6. 6.  
 Gen. 1. 10.  
 1 Joh. 1. 2.  
 1 Joh. 2. 12.  
 1 Joh. 3. 12.  
 1 Joh. 4. 12.  
 1 Joh. 5. 12.  
 1 Joh. 6. 12.  
 1 Joh. 7. 12.  
 1 Joh. 8. 12.  
 1 Joh. 9. 12.  
 1 Joh. 10. 12.  
 1 Joh. 11. 12.  
 1 Joh. 12. 12.

† Joh. 6. 62.  
 2 Cor. 1. 10.  
 Eph. 1. 2.  
 2 Tim. 1. 10.  
 Tit. 1. 10.





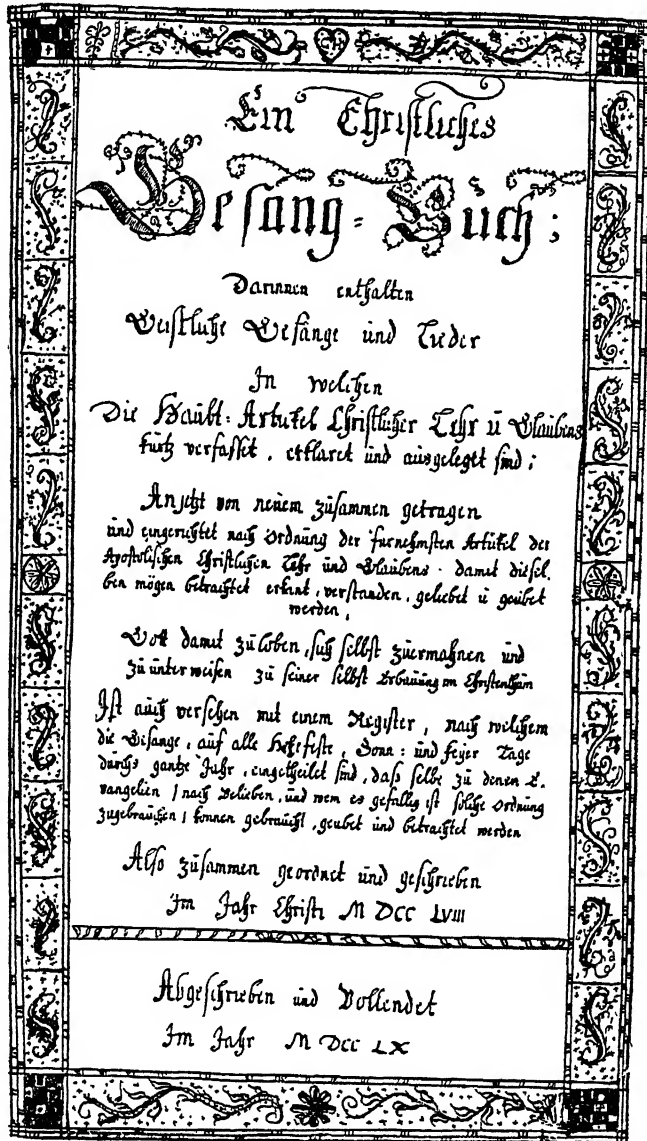


After their arrival in Pennsylvania, and free of the legal restrictions from which they had made their deliverance, the printing of a hymn-book for general use became desirable. But pioneers in the wilderness were not men of leisure. Nevertheless, their amazing industry enabled them to prepare for the printing of a much-needed new hymnal, and one who is familiar with the pious people who reached an alien but friendly shore, and who carried with them the love of music which was a marked characteristic of their race, can readily visualize their devotional groups, by the fireside or in the summer woods of this garden spot of Pennsylvania, praising God for their new-found freedom from persecution with an ardor unknown to-day. Collections of hymns were brought together, money was raised, and the editor selected. This was the Rev. Christopher Schultz, chosen by the representative committee doubtless because he had already, in the mother country, and later (1758-9) rearranged and copied the hymns then being used, found on single sheets, copied in other volumes, or interleaved in the Bohemian hymn-book of their ancestors. It is stated that only three complete manuscript books existed for the entire sect at this time.

Summarizing with respect to constituency and size of the hymnology in use by the Schwenkfelders at their coming to Pennsylvania, Dr. Seipt makes the statement that "the collection of George Weiss \* was composed of: † (1) The entire collection of 1709, numbering 874 hymns; (2) the Sudermann hymns, as revised by Weiss, 230 in number; (3) the 'Epistel-lieder,' by Hoffman, 106 hymns; (4) the 'Meditationes,' by the compiler himself, 178 hymns; and

\* For sketch of George Weiss and his contribution to Schwenkfelder hymnody, *vide* Seipt, pp. 74-80.

† Cf. Seipt, 28-29, 81-2.



Title-page of Schwenkfelder Manuscript Hymn-Book, 1758, 1760  
Transcribed by Rev. Christopher Hoffmann

A translation of the foregoing Hoffmann title-page,  
by Howard Wiegner Kriebel, here follows :

A CHRISTIAN  
HYMN-BOOK

in which are contained  
Spiritual Songs and Hymns  
in which

the chief articles of Christian doctrine and faith  
are briefly set forth, declared and explained.

Newly collated  
and arranged according to the order of the chief articles  
of Apostolic Christian doctrine and faith in order that  
they may be studied, recognized, understood,  
loved and practiced.

Thereby to praise God, exhort and instruct one's self  
into edification of self in Christianity.

Is also provided with a Register by which  
the hymns are arranged for all festivals,  
Sundays and Holy Days of the whole year in order that  
they may be used, practiced and contemplated  
according to one's inclination and by any to whom  
it is agreeable to use such order

Collected and transcribed

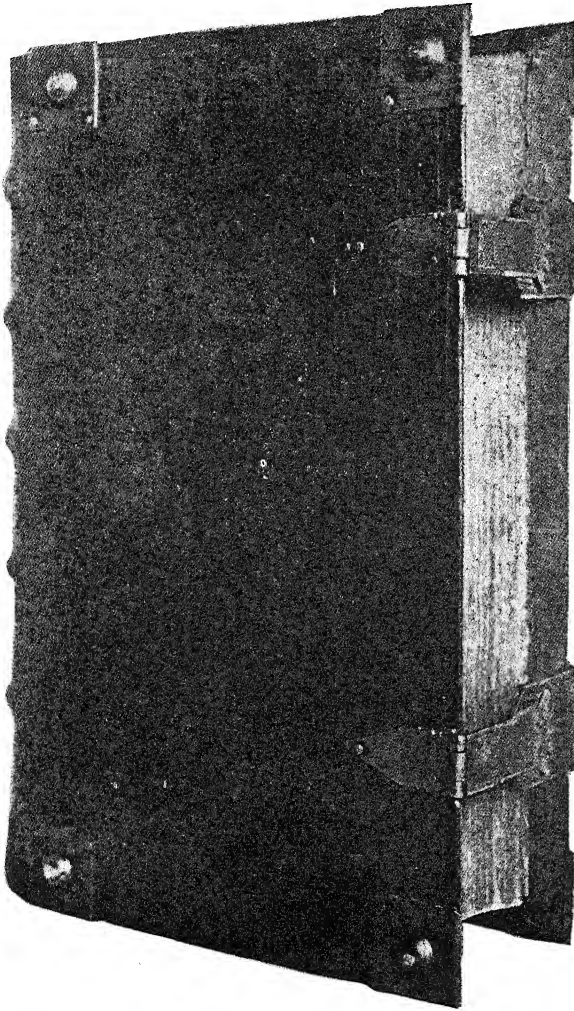
In the year of Christ 1758

Copied and completed  
in the year 1760

“An account of the origin of this collection of hymns  
with a series of biographical sketches of the authors is given  
in the preface. The initials of the authors are written be-  
side the hymns and are explained in the preface. Aurelius

\* For sketch of Rev. Christopher Hoffmann, *vide* Seipt, pp. 88, 89.

Prudentius, a pious Spaniard, about A. D. 400, wrote a number of hymns in Latin which were translated into German by Adam Reissner.



Manuscript Hymn-Book, 1760. Transcribed and bound by  
Rev. Christopher Hoffmann

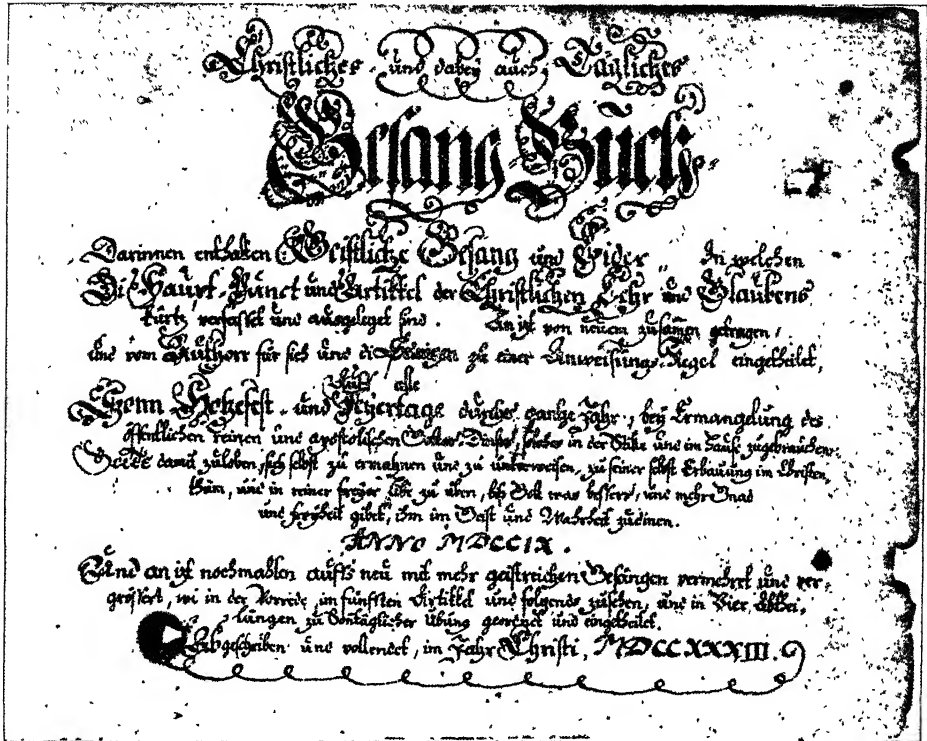
"This and the hymn book of the Picards or Bohemian Brethren, which was translated by Michael Weiss in 1531, and increased and corrected by Bishop Horn, constituted the earliest and principal sources. Selections were also made from the hymns written by the Schwenkfelders, Adam Reissner, Reimund Wecker, George Frell, Daniel Suderman, Antonius Oelsner, George Heydrick, Martin John and others, and by some of the Lutherans and Reformed.

"Caspar Weiss, born at Deutmansdorf in Silesia, and who married Anna, daughter of George Anders, made the collection in 1709 for the use of his family, and it was afterward adopted by the church. George Weiss his son, born 1687 at Harpersdorf in Silesia and who married Anna Meschter, the leader of the Schwenkfelder emigration and their first preacher here, increased the collection in 1726 and arranged it in four parts. There are also some hymns written abroad and here by Balthaser Hoffman, father of Christopher, who was born at Harpersdorf in 1686 and came to Pennsylvania in 1734.\*

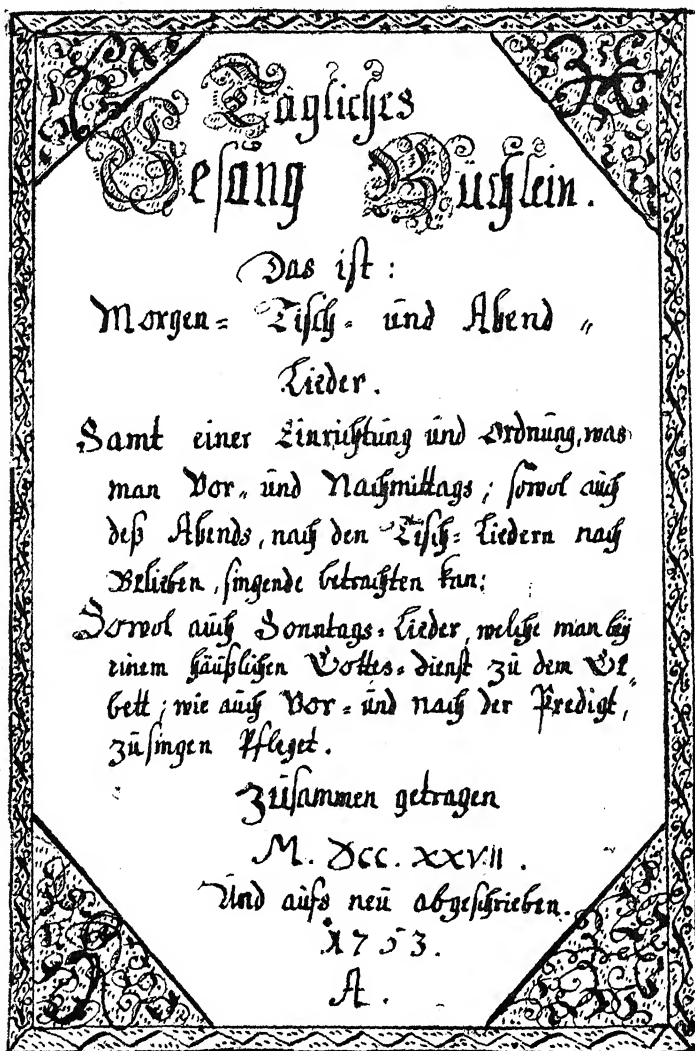
"In the MS. the letter 'A' signifies that the hymn is in the old form. 'C' that it has been corrected by Caspar Weiss and 'G' by George Weiss. In the second Register the hymns collected by Caspar Weiss are designated by red capitals and those by George Weiss by black. This collection, which up to that time had remained in MS., formed the basis of the hymn-book printed by Saur in 1762.

"On examining this MS. we cannot help but feel the strongest admiration for the zeal and patience of the scribe, the neatness and excellence of his work, the strength and

\*Cf. *Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts. The Collection of the late Hon. Samuel W. Pennypacker.* Samuel W. Freeman & Co., Auctioneers. October 26 and 27, 1920, lot 379. Also Seipt, pp. 62-5, 70-80.



Title-page of the Rev. George Weiss Manuscript Hymn Collection, 1709, 1733



Title-page of Manuscript Daily Hymn-Book, 1727. 1753  
From Kriebel's *Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania*, 181

beauty of the binding and the nice care with which the book has been preserved through one hundred and twenty-one years in all its original freshness and purity.

SAMUEL W. PENNYPACKER."

This folio manuscript of 977 pages, written by the Rev. Christopher Hoffman and dated 1760, as a specimen of illuminative mediaeval hand-writing "is, doubtless, the choicest manuscript produced by the Schwenkfelders in America." Formerly in the possession of the late Samuel W. Pennypacker, it is now a valued treasure of the Schwenkfelder Historical Library at Pennsburg.

A translation of the title-page of the daily hymn book, by Howard Wiegner Kriebel, is here given:

DAILY  
HYMN BOOK

that is

Morning, Table and Evening  
Hymns

With an arrangement and order what  
one, in the forenoon and afternoon as well as  
in the evening, after the Table Hymns  
may as desired meditate in song  
as well as Sunday Hymns which  
it is customary to sing at family  
worship as well as before and

after the sermon

Compiled

1727

and copied anew

1753

A



The second manuscript volume, *Tägliches Gesang-Büchlein*, the Daily Hymn Book, as the reproduced title-page indicates, was compiled in the year 1727, while the Schwenkfelders were enjoying the protection of Count Zinzendorf, in the interim between the midnight flight from home and their migration to America.

In the preface of the copy from which the title-page has been reproduced it is stated that the compilation was prepared for the use of the simple and less fully informed, as well as for those who do not have much time and opportunity for stated devotions, but yet have a desire for and delight in praising God by the singing of familiar hymns and inciting and encouraging self in a godly life. Daily meditation of hymns and the teachings of the Sabbath gospel and epistle texts is also highly commended.

The nature of the hymns is indicated in the Index which states that there are hymns to be used in the morning after service, on taking a journey, before meals, after saying grace at meals, after meals, at the striking of the clock at noon, after the noonday meal, during the Christmas season and other occasions of the church year, at eventide, at sunset, on lighting the lamp, after the hymn at the evening meal, on retiring, on Sunday eve, before and after Sunday prayer meeting, before and after preaching services on holidays and special days of prayer, on visiting the sick, at death bed, at burials, at burial of children.

The Schwenkfelder Historical Library has seven manuscript copies of the Daily Hymn-Book written between the years 1734 and 1756. How many more copies were made cannot be determined. These copies agree as to contents of text itself but vary as to introductions, appendix and index.

Of these seven manuscript copies the Rosina Drescher

Hoffman copy is, in some respects, the most unique. The use of two colors is characteristic of the book throughout. Rosina Drescher, the copyist of at least most of the book, was married to Rev. Christopher Hoffman, May 17, 1753. The title-page is dated 1753. Two handwritings can easily be detected in the book, her own and that of her husband. It was therefore begun during the year of her marriage and completed a little more than a year after her marriage with the assistance of her husband. Comment is unnecessary on the fact that at about the time of marriage (shall we say during courtship days?) and a year thereafter at least, some of her spare moments were given to the transcription of this type of literature.

The first printed hymn-book of the Schwenkfelders in America, published by Christopher Saur, in 1762, is an excellent specimen of early printing, as facsimile of title-page evidences. It was not an isolated production, but one of a series of hymn books of which the earlier numbers remained in manuscript,\* and was based upon three earlier collections of hymns, edited, and in many instances, written by the transcribers, who copied their predecessors' work with modifications during a period of at least sixty years, or just before the opening of the eighteenth century. It is therefore the fourth successive edition, and the first to be printed. It is extremely interesting to find that the work of such great learning and industry in preparing the three manuscript volumes named, was confined to four families of the sect: Caspar Weiss, of Harpersdorf, in Silesia (who died before the emigration), and the Rev. George Weiss,

\* The student wishing to pursue the fascinating study of Schwenkfelder hymnody, is referred to Dr. Seipt's scholarly monograph already quoted. The evolution of the Rev. Christopher Schultz Hymnal of 1762 is there fully related. Vide Chapter viii.

Neu = Einggerichtetes  
**Sefang-Buch**  
 in sich haltend  
 eine  
**S a m m l u n g**  
 (mehrentheils alter)  
 schöner lehr-reicher und erbaulicher  
**Lieder,**  
 Welche von langer Zeit her bey den Bekennern  
 und Liebhabern der Glorien und Wahrheit  
 Jesu Christi, bis anhezo in Übung  
 gewesen.  
 Nach den Haupt-Stücken der Christli-  
 chen Lehr und Glaubens eingetheilet,  
 und  
 Mit einem Verzeichniß der Titel  
 und dreyen Nützlichen Registern  
 versehen.  
 Anhezo also zusammen getragen,  
 und  
 Zum Lobe Gottes und heilsamen  
 Erbauung im Christenthum,  
 ans Licht gegeben.  
 Germantown, gedruckt bey Christoph Sauer,  
 auf Kosten vereinigter Freunde. 1762

his son ; the Rev. Balthaser Hoffman and his son, the Rev. Christopher Hoffman ; Hans Christoph Hübner and Rev. Christopher Schultz. All came to America, with the exception noted. George Weiss, the senior Hoffman and Christopher Schultz, who was editor of the Saur edition, were also writers of hymns. The *Neu-Eingerichtetes Gesang-Buch* of the Saur Germantown press in Pennsylvania, in 1762, is, therefore, the result of the work of these compilers.

Space does not here permit a list of the sixty hymn writers of this edition, but of them fourteen Schwenkfelders are represented, some of them, as Sudermann, by as many as 47 hymns. The old Bohemian and Moravian hymns sung for many decades by the fathers of the faith received special consideration.

According to Professor Kriebel \* the emigrating Pennsylvania hymn-writers made the following contributions :

“ Dr. Abraham Wagner, hymns : 6, 7, 10, 14, 96, 109, 139, 173, 191, 281, 283, 365, 457, 478, 495, 711, 733, 742, 751, 756, 787, 754, 789, 800, 802, 821, 822, 826, 832, 833, 845, 847, 850, 463, 801.

“ Balzer Hoffman, hymns : 1, 253, 303, 309, 310, 319, 320, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 374, 383, 571, 572, 578, 579, 580, 581, 588, 589, 617, 618, 626, 627, 628, 705, 709, 710, 755, 792, 854, 855, 856; 458, 573.

“ Casper Kriebel, hymns : 234, 311, 619, 623, 629, 717, 326.

“ Christoph Kriebel, hymns : 492, 714, 715, 716, 742, 745, 746, 747.

“ Christoph Schultz, hymns : 157, 312, 360, 380, 469, 590, 744.

“ David Seipt, hymn : 673.

\* Cf. Kriebel, *The Schwenkfelders in Pennsylvania, A Historical Sketch*, 194 et seq.

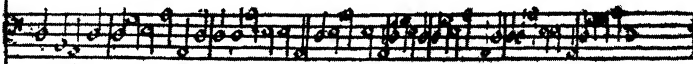
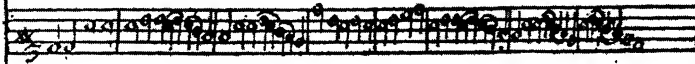


Title-page of Manuscript Hymn-Book  
Transcribed by Hans Christoph Hübner, 1758

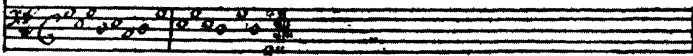
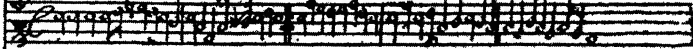
# Kurze Anweisung

Vocal. Stücke in C-moll und A-moll geübt.  
 1. Stücken 11 bey der Vocal. Music - aufgeführt worden  
 als 1. Singstücken und 2. Soli.

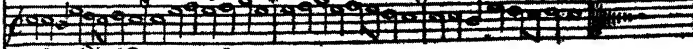
Ich hab' schon immer mehr...



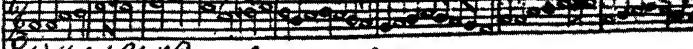
Ich hab' das Heil und Leben...



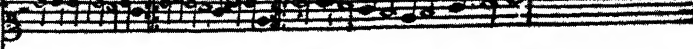
Variation der Heyden Weiland (C. 92)



1. Heil'ig ist der Herr



2. Ich hab' dich, Herr, geliebt



"George Weiss, hymns: 3, 36, 37, 221, 222, 240, 246, 247, 248, 252, 321, 422, 423, 468, 473, 486, 509, 532, 592, 600, 601, 602, 603, 712, 713, 722, 777.

"These constitute 123 numbers, out of a possible 917."

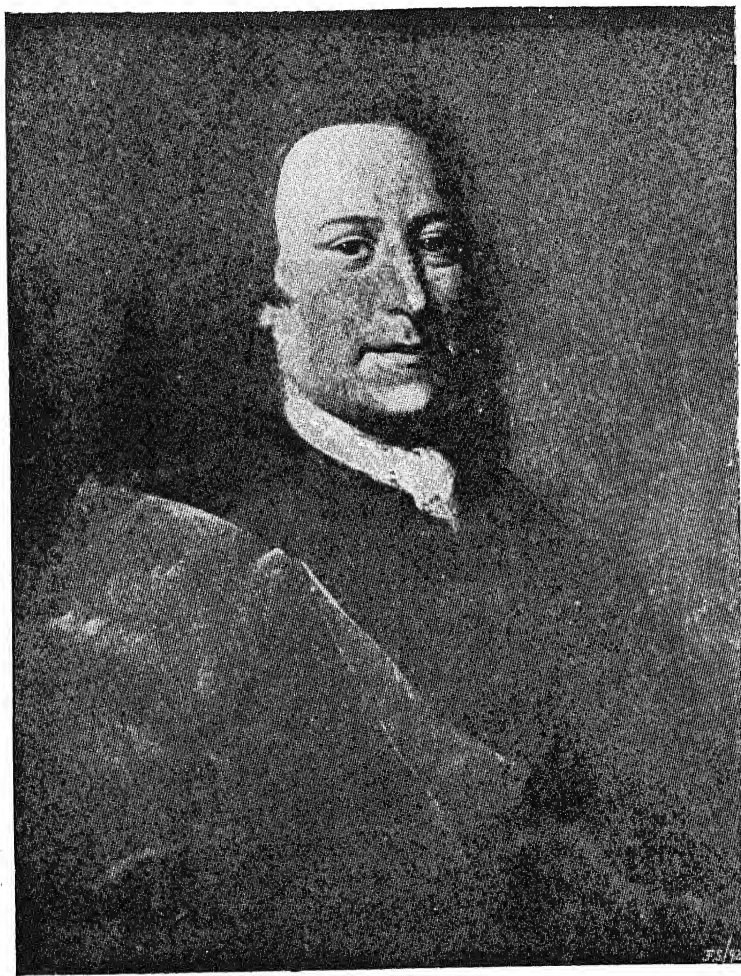
Hans Christoph Hübner,\* in 1765, made a transcription later than the printed hymnal of 1762, taken from his edition of 1758. In 1813 in Philadelphia, Conrad Zenthe printed a second edition of the Saur Hymnal, much abridged. A third edition (16mo.), of 1869, in handier form, is the present German Hymnal of the sect.

By the time the second revision had been finished in 1869, writes Mr. Kriebel, only twenty-six numbers were regarded worthy of being retained, a result in harmony with the general tendency to drift away from the old moorings.

\* For thirty years, beginning about 1745, Hans Christoph Hübner was active as a transcriber and compiler. He wrote three folio volumes of hymns dated 1758, 1759 and 1765; in addition, numerous quartos of hymns and of homiletic literature. It was he who executed, in 1758-59, the last re-arrangement of the Weiss hymn-collection, to which he added one hundred and twenty hymns. The manuscript hymn-book of 1758 is composed of the hymns of the collection of Caspar Weiss and the miscellany of the George Weiss addition. Those hymns which are translations of hymns by the Church-fathers are, in most cases, given in parallel columns with their Latin originals. This volume with that of 1759 comprises the Schwenkfelder hymn-collection in its final arrangement in manuscript. The two volumes contain more than twenty-two hundred pages in folio.—Cf. Seipt, *Schwenkfelder Hymnology*, pp. 90-1; also *The Genealogical Record of the Schwenkfelder Families, Seekers of Religious Liberty, who Fled from Silesia to Saxony and thence to Pennsylvania in the Years 1731 to 1737*. Edited by Samuel Kriebel Brecht, A.M., p. 1558, *et seq.*

THE MORAVIAN CONTRIBUTION TO  
PENNSYLVANIA MUSIC





COUNT NICHOLAS LUDWIG VON ZINZENDORF UND POTTENDORF  
1700-1760

From Levering's *History of Bethlehem*

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## THE MORAVIAN CONTRIBUTION TO PENNSYLVANIA MUSIC

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### A BRIEF SKETCH OF THE MORAVIAN CHURCH LITITZ TO HERRNHUT

“THE Church of the United Brethren,\* or *Unitas Fratrum*, called the Moravian Church because her first members came from Moravia at the time of the resuscitation, was founded in 1457 on the Barony of Lititz, in Bohemia, by pious followers of the Bohemian reformer John Hus. The original ministers were priests of the Calixtine or National Church. In 1467 the church received the episcopacy from a Bohemian colony of Waldenses, who in turn had received it from the National Establishment. It flourished greatly, and in the time of Luther had over four hundred churches in Bohemia and Moravia, with a total membership of at least 200,000, of noble birth as well as of peasantry. It extended also to Poland, and was governed, in the three branches, by a Synod-General. Hence the name *Unitas Fratrum*.” †

The disturbances following the expulsion of the Protestant clergy in the Anti-Reformation of 1621, culminated in 1628, when there was a general exodus of Protestants, and of members of the church of Bohemia under Johann Amos Comenius, one of the greatest bishops of the Moravian faith. In January of that year he with his family, friends and many others, set out from their home at Slaupna for Lissa,

\* Rt. Rev. Edmund de Schweinitz, *Life and Times of David Zeisberger, the Western Pioneer and Apostle of the Indians*, Philadelphia, 1870.

† de Schweinitz, *The History of The Church known as the Unitas Fratrum or, The Unity of the Brethren*, Bethlehem, 1878.

in Poland, and, reaching the top of a high mountain ridge separating Bohemia from Silesia, at a point whence they could look back upon their native land, they fell upon their knees, and the Bishop offered an impassioned prayer. Rising, they sang a hymn which originated among the Brethren, probably, at the time of the Anti-Reformation. It is instinct with faith, and refers to God's protecting care over the saints of old.

The Moravian scholars, Bishops Levering and de Schweinitz, clearly emphasize in their works the vitalizing force of music in the lives of the disciples of their faith from a very early period. The first writes :

"The fondness of the people for music was gratified and utilized by the cultivation of congregational singing. The first collection of hymns, printed by the *Unitas Fratrum*, was in 1505.\* Successive revisions and improvements were made, and soon after the middle of the century there were complete hymnals in Bohemian, German and Polish, mature in plan and rich in matter, the principal editions having the notes of tunes printed with the hymns." †

From de Schweinitz's illuminating chapter on the *Hymnology of the Unitas Fratrum*, A. D. 1517-1580, in his history of that church, a few extracts follow :

"Our tunes, wrote Bishop Stephan, ‡ are, in part, the old Gregorian, which are thus used, and in part borrowed from foreign nations, especially the Germans. Among

\* 1501, *vide* p. 218.

† Rt. Rev. Joseph Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem in Pennsylvania, 1741-1842. With Some Account of its Founders and Their Early Activity in America*, Bethlehem, 1903.

‡ de Schweinitz, *The History of the Unitas Fratrum*, Chapter XXXVII, *Hymnology of the Unitas Fratrum, 1517-1580*, pp. 394-505.

these latter tunes are popular airs according to which worldly songs are sung. At this strangers, coming from countries where they have heard them used in this way, take offence. But our hymnologists have purposely adopted them, in order through these popular notes to draw the people to the truth which saves." \*

Döring,† another authority, says: "It is the duty of the conscientious hymnologist to point to the old songs of the Brethren, which constitute a precious treasury of tunes that cannot be sufficiently extolled." . . .

In the Preface to his selection of hymns and tunes Zahn‡ makes the statement that: "As to the tunes, many of them bear a character peculiarly their own. When heard for the first time, they sound strange; but the oftener they are sung the deeper they penetrate the heart. Hence they are classed, by all connoisseurs of evangelical psalmody, among the noblest productions of music."

Esrom Rüdinger,§ in dedicating his exposition of the Psalms to Baron John von Zerotin,|| expresses his feeling as follows:

"Your churches surpass all others in singing. For

\* In letter to the Elector Frederick the Third of the Palatinate. *Ibid.*, p. 402.

† Döring, *Choralkunde*, p. 61.

‡ Johannes Zahn, *Die Geistlichen Lieder der Brüder in Böhmen, Mähren u. Polen*, in einer Auswahl, für eine Singstimme mit Begleitung des Harmoniums oder des Klaviers eingerichtet, Nürnberg, 1875.

§ Esrom Rüdinger, 1523-1590, professor of Greek and Philosophy in the University of Wittenberg.

|| An influential noble and leading member of the Brethren's church. He assumed the entire cost of the publication of the Kralitz Bible, the greatest literary work undertaken by the *Unitas Fratrum*. It took its name from Castle Kralitz, the home of the Baron, when it was printed.—de Schweinitz, pp. 383, 424.

where else are songs of praise, of thanksgiving, of prayer and instruction so often heard? Where is there better singing? The newest edition of the Bohemian Hymn Book, with its seven hundred and forty-three hymns, is an evidence of the multitude of your songs; and yet double that number have never been printed. . . . Your churches sing what you teach, and many of the hymns are real homilies. . . . Another advantage which your churches enjoy, is, that the whole congregation sings and thus takes part in the worship of God. . . . Therefore I was deeply moved when as a stranger, I, for the first time, heard your hymns and found that they were used not only in public assemblies, but also in the family circle—in your own house and in other noble houses—at morning and evening worship, before and after meals.” . . .

Such then was the spirit of song worship imbedded in the soul of this people and used to the glory of God and the purification of their daily lives.

A characteristic of the Brethren was that they migrated *in a body*, held together strongly by their religious faith, Lissa, in Poland, became an important centre of their church. At Lissa, Comenius corresponded with Samuel Hartlib, merchant, scholar, and philanthropist, of London, an intimate friend of John Milton, who addressed to him his treatise on Education. And at Lissa, in 1631, Comenius published the *Janua Linguarum Reserata*, or *The Gate of Languages Unlocked*. It consisted of one thousand sentences, presenting a summary of the essential parts of the Latin language and a “bird’s-eye view of the whole fund of human knowledge.”

On October 24, 1648, the Peace of Westphalia brought to an end the Thirty Years’ War. Its peace treaty was almost disastrous for Bohemia and Moravia. Their Church

was regarded as a practically extinct church, which the Protestant powers were not moved to consider in their hour of triumph. No princes represented it ; no policies of state outweighed other considerations, hence no stipulations were made for the exiles of the *Unitas Fratrum*. Comenius had been on the point of obtaining aid in England, when the Long Parliament began, and the coming disturbances interfered. In Sweden, for a time, he met with a friendly response. His fame as a philosopher and particularly as a reformer of educational principles and methods had become widely known in Sweden, Holland and England, and his presence was greatly desired in their centers of learning ; while, from across the seas, Harvard College, in the person of Governor John Winthrop of Massachusetts, invited him to its presidency. This, together with an invitation to France, Comenius declined.

In 1656 the Polish disturbances came to a climax, and Lissa was sacked and burned with much of the literature and remaining church documents.\* Comenius, entirely impoverished, fled by way of Breslau and Frankfort-on-the-Oder to Amsterdam. A little later the exiled Bohemians struggled heroically back, and in Bohemia, Poland and Silesia they began again. But the *Unitas Fratrum* never entirely recovered, although it survived to Herrnhut, for Comenius' *History* and his *Ratio Disciplinae* were the means of converting Count Zinzendorf. Comenius, "the incomparable Moravian," died in Holland on the fifteenth of November, 1670. The three-hundredth anniversary of his

\*The rich literature of the Brethren perished almost entirely. Their Kralitz Bibles, their Hymnals and Confessions and Catechisms, the many other works which they had issued were cast into the flames by thousands. When Spanish mercenaries sacked Fulneck in 1620, the library and manuscripts of Johann Amos Comenius were burned in the public square.

birth was celebrated at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, March twenty-eighth, 1892. "He was," says de Schweinitz, "the Jeremiah of the Ancient and the John the Baptist of the Renewed *Unitas Fratrum*." \*

Between the Anti-Reformation and the death of Comenius, the hidden seed of the Moravian Church consisted of those who had not emigrated, but secretly kept the Faith alive. In Poland a relic of the *Unitas Fratrum* remained and there, to-day, are a few churches that legitimately descend from the Unity and preserve its episcopate.

In Moravia there was a larger group still alive. Conspicuous in it was David Nitschmann, of a pious family at Zauchenthal, uncle of the future Bishop David Nitschmann, and himself destined to be one of the most active missionaries of the resuscitated church, both in the ill-fated efforts at St. Croix, and, as the recognized founder of Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. At Senftleben, Moravia, in 1690, was born another who was to become an evangelizing leader, Christian David, who went about preaching the doctrines of the Brethren. In 1717 he came to Görlitz, in Silesia; and at Sehlen, the Moravians begged him to look for some retreat in a Protestant country where they might worship God in peace. Finally, on Monday in Whitsuntide week, May 25, 1722, Christian David returned to Sehlen with the intelligence that Count Nicholas Louis von Zindendorf, a pious young nobleman, was willing to receive them on his domain of Berthelsdorf, in Saxony. By night, on foot, a fugitive group, leaving houses and farms, led by Christian David, turned toward the Silesian frontier. "They were the first of those witnesses that had been ordained to go into a strange land and build unto God a city, at whose sacred fire the dying *Unitas Fratrum*

\* de Schweinitz, *History of the Unitas Fratrum*, 618.

should renew its youth like the eagle's." With the aid of Count Zinzendorf, who gave himself and his property to the interests of the Moravian refugees, Herrnhut was built ;



DAVID NITSCHMANN

1696-1772

First Bishop of the renewed *Unitas Fratrum*

From Ritter's *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*

the discipline of the Bohemian Brethren introduced ; and the Church, thus renewed, was soon to spread over Europe,



Great Britain and North America. Her first Bishop was David Nitschmann; the second, Count Zinzendorf.

The Moravians had hymns for every act of life. Their Emigrants' song, sometimes called the Missionary Hymn,\* was used as early as 1724, by pious pilgrims to Herrnhut. One translation is as follows:

Blessed be the day when I must roam  
Far from my country, friends and home,  
An exile poor and mean;  
My Father's God will be my guide,  
Will angel guards for me provide,  
My soul from dangers screen.  
Himself will lead me to a spot,  
Where, all my cares and griefs forgot,  
I shall enjoy sweet rest.  
As pants the heart for water brooks  
My thirsting soul with longing looks  
To God, my refuge blest.

A stream of refugees flowed into Herrnhut. Constantly there was heard the loud blare of trombones welcoming a fresh band from Moravia.

The one great recreation was religion. Those at Herrnhut began the day with song, had a meeting in the dinner hour, and after supper sang themselves to bed. A watchman employed at night chanted the Song of the Hours,† each hour reminding the wakeful listener of some comforting truth. Later, at Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania, the village watchman came on duty at eight o'clock in the evening and called out every hour until six in the morning by a musical couplet. Of these the first and last were:‡

"Past eight o'clock! Oh Bethlehem, do thou ponder  
Eight souls in Noah's ark were living yonder.  
.  
.  
.  
The clock is six and I go off my station  
Now brethren, watch yourselves for your salvation."

\* Cf. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. ii, p. 152; C. H. Mumford, *Our Church's Story*, London, 1911, p. 182.

† *Vide*, J. E. Hutton, *History of the Moravian Church*, for full text of the *Song of the Hours*.

‡ *Vide*, Elizabeth Lehman Myers, *A Century of Moravian Sisters*, pp. 139-40.

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NICHOLAS LUDWIG, COUNT OF ZINZENDORF AND POTTENDORF,  
MORAVIAN HYMNODIST AND FATHER OF  
MODERN MISSIONS

NICHOLAS LUDWIG ZINZENDORF, descended from an noble and ancient family of Lower Austria, was born at Dresden, on Ascension Day, May twenty-sixth, 1700. His father, George Louis von Zinzendorf, Saxon Minister of State, was a personal friend of Philip Jacob Spener, the Pietist; his mother, Charlotte Justine, was a daughter of Nicholas and Henrietta Catharine von Gersdorf and also Pietist. The boy, Nicholas, was thus born into a Pietist circle with Spener for his godfather. His father died six weeks after his birth. His mother later married again and he was educated under the care of his pious and gifted maternal grandmother with August Hermann Francke, a spiritual son of Spener, as his tutor at Halle.

In 1716 he entered Wittenberg to study law and fit himself for a diplomatic career. Later he traveled in Holland, France and Germany, meeting men distinguished for practical piety, belonging to various creeds. Upon his return he purchased Berthelsdorf from his grandmother; married September seventh, 1722, Erdmuth Dorothea, sister of Count Henry of Reuss and settled upon his estate, with the determination to put into practice the Pietistic principles of Spener for the uplift of his tenantry. He had no purpose to found a new church, or religious organization, distinct from Lutheranism. He meant to create a Christian association which might awaken the formalism of the Lutheran Church. Whatever his theories or intentions, the practical outcome was his connection with the Bohemian or Moravian refugees to whom he gave asylum at Berthelsdorf, building for them the village of Herrnhut.

The first detachment of these refugees, under Christian David in 1722, was followed by others from various regions where persecution raged until, in seven years, upwards of three hundred were domiciled at Herrnhut. These oppressed people belonged to more than one Protestant organization. Persistent ill-treatment had made them cling so pertinaciously to the small peculiarities of creed, organization and liturgy that scarcely could they be persuaded to live at peace with each other. With rare courage Zinzendorf devoted himself to this remnant of the Church universal. With his wife and children he lived at Herrnhut where his pastor, Johann Andreas Rothe,\* had spiritual oversight for a number of years. He had difficulty, however, in evolving order out of confusion; since he was obliged to satisfy the State authorities that his religious community could be brought under the conditions of Augsburg; to quiet the suspicions of the Lutheran clergy, and to rule in some fashion men made fanatical by persecution.

By patience, perseverance and an unusual personality Zinzendorf, by midsummer of 1727, had diverted the conflict of wills at Herrnhut into an efficient fighting force, the vanguard of the great Moravian missionary army. This result had been largely accomplished by deepening the spiritual experience of his diversified flock through the formation of bands or choirs, classes, hourly intercessions, singing meetings and the Daily Watchword.†

During his formative years the spiritual and mental contacts with his grandmother, Spener and his pupils Francke and Freylinghausen, had implanted in him an en-

\* Cf. A. H. Mumford, B.D., *Our Church's Story. Being a History of the Moravian Church for Young People*. London, 1911, p. 182.

† J. E. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions*. Fetter Lane, London, 1922, pp. 12-13.

thusiastic faith in missions as the great duty of the Church and had encouraged and cultivated his talent for music and hymnody. Thus faith and music became effective implements in his hands for the development of a vision of constructive work.

Henrietta Catharine von Gersdorf, 1648–1726, Zinzendorf's maternal grandmother, a writer of hymns which are among the best of that period, no doubt acted as mentor to her gifted grandson. Her *Geistreiche Lieder und poetische Betrachtungen*, or "Spiritual Songs," was published at Halle, by Anton, in 1729; an earlier edition having appeared in 1725. Some thirty of her hymns have passed into German use, and two have been translated into English: "Another year of mortal life," and "What meanest thou, my soul." \*

Spener's hymns are not remarkable, nor Francke's numerous. Freylinghausen was the chief singer of the Pietist group, while Tersteegen (1697–1769), whose sympathies were with the Moravians and Zinzendorf, ranks as one of the three most important hymn writers associated with the Reformed Church in Germany. His most important hymnological work, *Geistliches Blumen-Gärlein*, "The Spiritual Flower Garden," a collection of one hundred and eleven hymns of which many editions were published, first appeared in 1729. Wesley's adaptation of two: "Lo! God is here, let us adore him," and "Thou hidden Love of God, whose source," are well known.

Zinzendorf's first hymn was written at Halle in 1712; his last at Herrnhut May 4, 1760. Between these dates he wrote over two thousand hymns. Many of his early ones show the influence of his Pietist association, but particu-

\* *Vide* Catharine Winkworth's *Christian Singers of Germany*. Philadelphia, 1869, for translation of first lines.

larly that of Bernard of Clairvaux (1090–1153), the father, in Latin hymnody, of that passionate form of devotion which by some was considered to apply too freely the imagery of human affections to Divine objects. Many of Zinzendorf's hymns are of this ardent form, many more, however, unite the merits of force, simplicity and brevity. Some of his hymns, through versions of Wesley and others, have entered into English Methodist hymnody, notably: "Jesus, Thy blood and righteousness," "O, Thou to whom all searching sight", "Jesus, still lead on," and "Christ will gather in His Own." Three score and more are to be found in the present authorized version of *The Liturgy and Office of Worship and Hymns of The American Province of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church*. The *Hymnal Revised and Enlarged of the Protestant Episcopal Church in the United States of America* has a few.

The early history of the Renewed Church is pre-eminently distinguished by two outstanding characteristics, missions and educational advancement. To both music was a contributing factor. "Zinzendorf," says a recent writer, on Moravian missions, "was at his best when he donned his singing robes. At the monthly missionary meeting he often opened the proceedings by singing a solo, and some of the best hymns were written by himself. His 'Warrior Songs' were trumpet calls to action." \*

It was his habit in the congregation to hold what he called *Conversations* with his hearers, when questions were asked by seekers for instruction, concluding with a prayer. He led in singing pleasing hymns, and his secretary, Tobias Frederick, who had a singular talent for music, performed upon the organ.

\* Cf. Hutton, *A History of Moravian Missions*. Fetter Lane, London, 1922, p. 183 *et seq.*

"The Count," says Bishop Spangenberg, "had a particular gift of singing hymns extemporaneously, without previous reflection or composition. These were suggested to him with such ease that he was able to sing them alone on public or private occasions. They burst from his heart in such easy, lively and perspicuous language, as well as in such correct and scriptural form, that people began to copy them down." In the second edition of the London Moravian hymn book of 1742 \* a considerable number of this description appears.

From 1725 to 1731 Zinzendorf edited his first four Collections of Hymns which include many of his own composition. Most of the hymns in the Herrnhut Gesang-Buch of 1735 are from these sources. The titles which follow are from Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*:

*Sammlung geistlicher und lieblicher Lieder*, Leipzig. The dedication is dated: Dresden, May 26, 1725, and is to his grandmother, Henriette Catharine von Gersdorf. It contains 889 hymns (28 by Zinzendorf). 2nd ed. unaltered, besides an *Anhang* and a *Zugabe* (17 hymns by Zinzendorf).

*Einfältige aber theure Wahrheiten . . . aus verschiedenen geistlichen und lieblichen Liedern denen Einfältigen und Kindern vorgelegt durch Graf Ludwig von Zinzendorf* (i. e. Simple but precious truths . . . collected from various hymns and spiritual songs produced for simple folk and children by Count L. von Z.) 1727, dedicated to B. W. Marperger. In two parts, 379 and 363 short hymns in alphabetical order, 2nd ed. 1728. Later hymn-books for Moravian children, London, 1754, 1757; Barby, 1789.

*Christ-catholisches Singe und Bet-Buchlein nebst einem Anhang* (a small Christian Catholic Song and Prayer Book with an Appendix), 1727. Contains 79 hymns from the *Heilige Seelenlust* of J. Scheffler. The *Anhang* contains 147 hymns.

\* James Hutton, A Collection of Hymns with several translations from the Hymn Book of the Moravian Brethren in three parts. Part I, 1745. (Hymns 1-187, with 188-239 in appendix of second).

*Sammlung geist- und lieblicher Lieder* (a collection of hymns and spiritual songs) pub. by M. Marche at Görlitz. The dedication to the Princess of Denmark Charlotte Amalie is dated Aug. 27, 1731. Contains 1402 hymns, and an *Anhang*. 1009 hymns are taken from the first hymn book, with 407 new hymns. In all 126 hymns are written by Zinzendorf.

*Graf Ludwig von Zinzendorf, Teutsche Gedichte*, Herrnhut, 1735, 128 hymns (from the years 1713-1735); 2nd ed., Barby, 1766, 130 hymns.

His *Gesang-Buch der Gemeine in Herrnhut* 1735, the hymn-book of the congregation at Herrnhut, contains 972 hymns and an *Anhang*, Nos. 973-999. Of these, 841 are taken from Marche's Hymn Book, in which 121 are by Zinzendorf; 158 hymns are new, 87 by Zinzendorf (in all 208); 8 by Rothe, 4 by Erdmuth von Zinzendorf, 2 by M. Dober, 2 by Gutbier, 2 from the *Bohemian Brethren's* Hymn Book, 7 by non-Moravians, 46 by anonymous authors. New edition, 1737.

On this and subsequent Moravian hymnody, "Zinzendorf," says Dr. Benson, "stamped his own ardent and peculiar personality by his hymn writing, his singing meetings and his hymn books for both Herrnhut and London congregations." It might be here added, and also for Bethlehem, in Pennsylvania. "Moravian hymn singing," continues the learned author,\* "has been distinguished by its emphasis on the spiritual side, the hearty participation of the whole congregation, its free use of musical instruments, and its devotion to the choral type of tunes. Incidentally the division of the congregation into 'choirs,' according to sex, age and condition, brought about special provision for Children's Hymnody. . . . In estimating their influence on hymnody, it must be remembered that it was the German rather than the English Moravian hymnody which, through its contacts with the Wesleys, put a new warmth

\* Cf. Louis F. Benson, D. D., *The English Hymn and Its Development*, Chapters v and vi, *Hymnody of the Methodist Revival*.

into English hymn singing, and something of its tone of familiar and confiding love into the English hymn."

It was the hymn singing on the ship *Simmonds*, by the band of twenty-six Moravian missionaries bound for Georgia, under the leadership of the newly consecrated Bishop Nitschmann and Peter Bohler, which amazed the brothers, Charles and John Wesley. Day after day the godly group, with unruffled faith, rang out its songs amid the increasing dangers of the deep and led the latter to desire a knowledge of German and Moravian hymnody. John Wesley's *Journal* for October 27, 1735, has the entry: "Began *Gesang Buch*." This *Gesang Buch*, to again quote Dr. Benson, "has been identified as the first of the hymn books for Herrnhut, published in that year, by Count Zinzendorf: *Das Gesang-Buch der Gemeine in Herrnhut*.\* This, with those by Johann Anastasius Freylinghausen, *Geist-reiches Gesang Buch, den Kern alter und neuer Leider*, &c., Halle, 1704; and its second part, *Neues Geistreiches Gesang Buch*, &c., appearing in 1714, became the German sources of the Wesleyan Hymnody."

Missionary stations had by this time been placed in the Danish West Indies, Labrador, Greenland, and amongst the North American Indians, 1735. In 1736, while on a visit to Holland, an order for Count Zinzendorf's banishment from Herrnhut because of his religious teachings, was put in force. From thence forward he became the most indefatigable traveling missionary of his day. "His State of Pilgrimage," says Bishop Spangenberg, "commenced with his exile and only terminated with his death."

Zinzendorf was able to return to Germany in 1737, and in Berlin, on May twenty-seventh, was consecrated to

\* Cf. Benson, *op. cit.*, pp. 224-5.



the episcopacy by Bishops Daniel Ernst Jablonsky and David Nitschmann, with the concurrence of Bishop Sitkovius and in the presence of certain of the Herrnhut brethren. He afterwards traveled widely in the interest of his life's work, visiting Pennsylvania in 1741-2, of which more will be said under Bethlehem, and spending a long period in London in 1750.

In 1752 he lost by death his only son, Christian Renatus, 1727-1752, and four years later his good wife, Erdmuth Dorothea, who had been his counsellor and confidant in all his work and without whose wise guidance he would not have accomplished much that he did. He remained a widower one year and then contracted a second marriage with Anna Nitschmann, the most noteworthy woman of her time in the Church, the originator of the choir\* system at Herrnhut, and one of the two pioneer women missionaries in Pennsylvania. Three years later, overcome by his labors, Zinzendorf fell ill and died at Berthelsdorf, May 9, 1760, leaving Bishop John de Watterville, who had married his eldest daughter Henrietta Justina Benigna, to take his place at Herrnhut.

So died Count Zinzendorf the hymnodist, who is said to have been the instrumentality of sending out two hundred and twenty-six missionaries to the far-away places of the world. With his death, according to Dr. Julian, the original period of Moravian history regarding hymn-books ends.

His son, eldest daughter and both wives were authors of hymns that have survived to the present, as was also Bishop de Watterville.

\* Choir, a Greek word, meaning dance, then group of dancers, then group of singers. The English choir is the group that leads the singing in public worship. In the Moravian sense, choir had the meaning of class.

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During the Count's lifetime he was the Church's head. At his death a system of government was introduced, which still exists in a modified form.

The adjustment of the social and spiritual position of the Herrnhut colony of the Moravian Brethren was brought about between the years 1722 and 1747. In 1727 an overpowering conviction of the presence of the Holy Spirit smoothed out certain difficult questions that had separated the settlements of Herrnhut and Berthelsdorf, and thus defined the place of the Bohemian emigrants in the Lutheran State church.

Much of the then widely spread pietism that characterized the spirit of the Protestant Church, looked to self expression only. In the hearts of the Bohemian exiles pietism became a driving force toward spiritual activity among men. In a day when the preaching of the Gospel "to the whole world" as the great work of Christ's Church had been almost forgotten, these Moravians resolved to devote themselves to the heathen people of the uncivilized areas of the earth. The west coast of Greenland, the islands of the West and of the East Indies, and the unexplored regions of South Africa became their objectives. Without money, without the official support of any ecclesiastical units or establishments, without large social influence, solely in the power of prayer, they established the mission stations that to-day are scattered all over the world; centers that have since marked the dawn of the processes of civilization in many dark areas of the earth.

HERRNHUT TO PENNSYLVANIA  
PETER BOEHLER, NAZARETH, BETHLEHEM

THE work of the Brethren in North America, and specifically that in Pennsylvania, was the outcome of an attempt to evangelize the Indians and the Negroes of James Oglethorpe's new Colony in Georgia, with which movement the names of the Wesleys and of George Whitefield are also associated.

A little group of Moravian missionaries, under the leadership of Rev. Augustus Spangenberg and Anton Seifert, arrived at Savannah, Georgia, in February, 1735. This group was strengthened a year later by a second colony, among whom were the lately consecrated Bishop David Nitschmann\* and Peter Boehler. At first success attended the missionary efforts. A school was started on an island in the Savannah River, five miles above the town, where the Indian children were taught to read, memorize scripture, even to write, and where they delighted to sing hymns.† In a few years, however, the enterprise failed, and in consequence the Moravians removed to Pennsylvania in April, 1740.

This migration was, in some measure, connected with the widely advertised sale of land taken up by the Penn heirs and the colony, after the Walking Purchase of 1737-39, just as the Georgia colonization plans had resulted from contact with Oglethorpe and his scheme for a curious experiment in penology.

\* He was consecrated 13 March, 1735, by Bishop Jablonsky with the concurrence of Bishop Sitkovius, the former a grandson of the illustrious Bishop Commenius.

† Rt. Rev. J. Mortimer Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892*, pp. 37-8.

Peter Boehler and Anton Seiffert, with their friends, left Savannah, April 13th, 1740, in company with Whitefield. They reached Philadelphia twelve days later, when they were disappointed to find that Bishop Spangenberg



PETER BOEHLER

Episcopus: 1712-1775

From Ritter's *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*

had gone to Europe, and that Bishop Nitschmann had not yet arrived. The former emigrants to the Province tried to persuade them to settle in Germantown, and to consider their own interests.

Meanwhile, Whitefield, with his usual energy, had prospected and bought five thousand acres at the Forks of Delaware, now Nazareth, Northampton County, from William Allen for £2200, that a school might be erected to educate negro children. On May 6th Peter Boehler, Anton Seiffert and Henry Antes set out to examine the tract, and found, on the 7th, an extensive Indian village, where now stand the old Nazareth Farm buildings. Reporting favorably to Whitefield, the latter closed his contract, and named the spot Nazareth.\* The brethren agreed to put up the building for him, and took their families with them to Nazareth, and, on May 30th, 1740, seated under a great forest-tree, sang hymns of praise. This tree is no longer standing, but its stump is located as "Peter Boehler's Oak Tree." †

Shortly afterwards a dissension between Whitefield and a missionary in Georgia, John Hagen by name, resulted in the Moravians being driven from his lands, and, in 1740, Nazareth was deserted. This summary expulsion led to the purchase from William Allen of a tract on the Lehigh, now the site of Bethlehem, where the Brethren built a solitary log house and moved there in March, 1741.

Some months previous to this, Boehler was recalled to Europe to undertake some important work in England and sailed on January 29, 1741. ‡ Prior to his departure he

\* William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*, Philadelphia, 1870, pp. 162-3.

† Cf. *Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. i, pp. 193-218.

‡ There is an occasional confusion of order and dates in printed narra-

made a compilation of church liturgies, embodying verses of his own composition, for the love feast he and the Brethren kept on Christmas eve, and for the first Moravian celebration of the Holy Communion in Pennsylvania which followed the Vigils. The manuscript copies of these liturgies were preserved as tender mementos of the occasion.\* From 1737 to 1764 this good man, who had become bishop in 1748, gave four terms of service to Moravian work in America and was, next to Spangenberg, its most eminent leader. He was born at Frankfort-on-the-Main, December 31, 1714, and died in London, April 27, 1775.

Boehler will ever be remembered with interest for his spiritual and musical contacts with the brothers Charles and John Wesley. These contacts began with the missionary journey to Georgia in 1735, when he and the newly consecrated Bishop Nitschmann, with their flock, became the instrumentalities by which the Wesleys, particularly John, were brought to the richness of German and Moravian hymnody. Later, in London, acting under Boehler's advice, John Wesley, with his brother Charles and others, "formed our little Society."† It was for this Society that certain resolutions, drawn jointly by Boehler and John Wesley, were signed May 12, 1738, styled *Orders of a Religious Society meeting in Fetter Lane*.‡ It was this Society,

tives based on original and secondary sources, owing to the use in some of old, in others of new style dating, particularly before the regular Church diaries were begun in 1742. Double dating was commonly observed by the Brethren in Pennsylvania in official records until 1752, when the Gregorian calendar was finally adopted by England.

\* Cf. Levering, *A History of Bethlehem*, pp. 56-7.

† Rev. Abraham Reincke, *A Register of Members of the Moravian Church and of Persons Attached to said Church in this Country and Abroad, Between 1727 and 1754*. Bethlehem, 1875, pp. 10-11. Cf. ante, p. 131.

‡ Benson, *The English Hymn. Its Development and Use*. Chapter v.

The early Moravians, as typified by Nazareth, were secluded and isolated. Moravianism required the observance of its Christian exercises daily, seven days a week. Every act of domestic and daily life was symbolic. The community therefore desired the isolated social life of a single-minded congregation. It has specialized in missionary and educational work, and has been eminently successful in each field.

After the purchase of the Barony an inn was established on the property for the entertainment of strangers and *Der neue Gasthof*, or the Tavern behind Nazareth, became immediately known as *Der Gasthof zur Rose*. Now this pretty title was bestowed on the lonely hostel to keep in remembrance a fact of history. Which fact is found in the release, by John Penn, Thomas Penn and Richard Penn, to Letitia Aubrey of London, their half-sister, gentlewoman, of the five thousand acres of land that had been confirmed to his trusty friend, Sir John Flag, for her sole use and behoof, by William Penn, Sr., late Proprietary and Chief Governor of Pennsylvania. This was done on the condition of her yielding and paying therefor, *One Red Rose* yearly on the 24th day of July, if the same should be demanded, in full for all services, customs and rents.\*

The first landlord of the *Red Rose*, John Frederic Schaub, a native of Zurich, Switzerland, with Diverty Mary, his faithful wife, and Johnny their son, the first child of white parents born at Nazareth, was forced to leave the comfortable quarters of the inn, August 14th, 1754, through fear of the French and Indians then moving against the defenceless frontiers.

\* William C. Reichel, *A Red Rose from the Olden Time*, or, *A Ramble Through the Annals of the Rose Inn and the Barony of Nazareth, In the Days of the Province, 1752-1772*. Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society.

John Nicholas Weinland, from Saxe-Meiningen, farmer and musician, and Philippina, born Loesch,\* his wife, administered the concerns of the Inn from August 14th, 1754, to the 11th day of December following.

Once in Philadelphia, whither Mr. Weinland † had gone with the Bethlehem team, he was led by his love of music to enter a hall in which he heard some amateur musicians rehearsing. His intrusion, of course, arrested their attention; but Weinland, in his rustic garb, whip in hand, sat down not in the least disconcerted, and drank in the harmonies of sound that came from wind and string instruments. Shortly after, one of the performers stepped down from the platform to twit the countryman, but the latter was too artless to see the point of his jokes. On being asked, Weinland replied that he loved music and that he indulged occasionally in practising it. This created some merriment. "Suppose you gratify us with a performance," said one. "Here is the violincello, your favorite instrument,"—offering him the jolly bit of timber and placing before him a piece of music upside down—"now play and we can judge." Weinland, none abashed and conscious of his ability, allowed the sheet to remain as it had been placed on the music-stand and played it perfectly. ‡

\* A daughter of the patriarch George Loesch of Gernsheim, near Worms in the Palatinate.

† Mr. Weinland immigrated in 1749, and in December of that year settled at Nazareth. In 1756 he took charge of the farm at Gnadenenthal, where, after a service of twenty years, he died in January, 1777.

‡ Reichel, *op. cit.*, p. 10.



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EARLY DAYS AT BETHLEHEM, PENNSYLVANIA.  
BISHOP SPANGENBERG

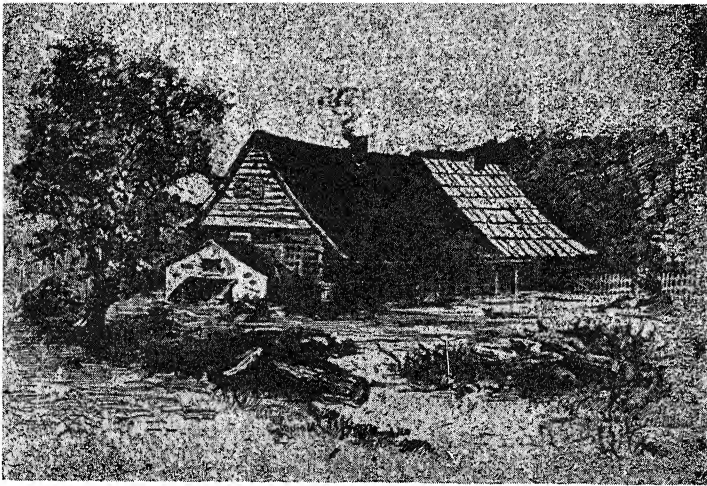
THERE were seventeen men and women living in the temporary log house, the so-called "First House in Bethlehem," during the spring and summer of 1741. In these weeks the real first house and permanent abode, a Community House and Church combined, was begun. This log building still stands, one of the picturesque group of unique edifices that remain to mark the industry and artistic constructive power of those old-day builders. As much speed as possible was made in the process of building in order that the house might be ready for Zinzendorf and his daughter when they made their hoped-for visit to America in the fall of 1741.

In December, 1741, the little company led by Count Zinzendorf crossed the Lehigh River at the Indian Ford and followed the winding way up the ascent on the north side to the little log house on the Allen tract, to them the most interesting spot in America and also their journey's end. Two rooms in the unfinished Community House had been hurriedly prepared for Count Zinzendorf and his daughter. The few days of Count Zinzendorf's stay were spent in social converse, spiritual edification and official conference.\*

At the close of Sunday, December 24th, 1741, all were assembled in the little log house to observe the Vigils of Christmas, in the manner in which their brethren of the far-distant Fatherland were also preparing to do. To this they added the celebration of the Holy Communion. Their humble sanctuary, sharing its roof with beasts of the

\* Levering, *History of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, 1741-1892*, Chapter iv.

stall, brought the circumstances of the Saviour's birth vividly to their imagination. Count Zinzendorf, acting upon impulse, rose and led the way into the part of the building where cattle were kept, while he began to sing the words of a German Epiphany hymn which combined Christmas thoughts and missionary thoughts suitable to the character given to the observance of Epiphany among the Brethren.



The First House of Bethlehem, 1741

That vigil service and that hymn suggested the name of Bethlehem, the ancient town of David, for the settlement.

This hymn was by Adam Drese (1630-1718), musical director at Weimar and Arnstadt, who also composed the tunes to his hymns. Its nine verses stand as 937 in the original Herrnhut hymnal of 1735, under the heading *Heidenfast*, Epiphany. In the edition of 1741, in which the tunes are also numbered, the hymn is 940, and the tune

52. In the *Offices of Worship and Hymns*, published at Bethlehem in 1891, hymn 511 is a free translation of six of its nine verses. The first five stanzas, the most characteristic of the hymn, have been as literally translated as possible by Bishop Levering. Of these three follow :

Jesus call Thou me  
From the world to flee,  
To Thee hasting;  
Without resting;  
Jesus call Thou me.

Not Jerusalem,  
Rather Bethlehem  
Gave us that which  
Maketh life rich;  
Not Jerusalem.

Honored Bethlehem,  
Pleasant I esteem;  
From Thee springeth  
What gain bringeth;  
Honored Bethlehem.\*

It is to be noted, in connection with another alleged origin of the name, that the Delaware Indian name for the Lehigh River was *Lecha*; so that the "House of Bread" in the Hebrew became the "House on the Lehigh" in polyglot.\*

Count Zinzendorf's last sojourn in Bethlehem was in December, 1742. On December 24th the vigil of Christmas Eve began at eleven o'clock. Reference was made to the service of the previous year in the little log house, when the settlement received the name of Bethlehem. The watchword of the Church for the day was, "The name of the City from that day shall be Jehovah Shammah—The Lord is there" (Ezek. 48:35). At this service the

\* Cf. Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 78-79.

Count extemporized a chain of thirty-seven stanzas on the theme of the hour, which were sung with a fervor and emotion like that of the memorial service of the previous year. These were put into print with the title, *In der Christnacht zu Bethlehem, 1742*, and were called "the Bethlehem Christmas hymn, also the Pennsylvania Christmas hymn." \*

A catechism and collection of hymns for general use, compiled by Count Zinzendorf, shortly after his arrival in the Province, was printed early in the year 1742, with the title *Hirten Lieder von Bethlehem*. This is now rare among the Pennsylvania imprints of that time. Only two copies are known to exist. The edition, printed by Saur of Germantown, was probably distributed in paper covers. A second edition, *Nach der Germantowner Edition*, was incorporated as part first in the small German hymn-book of the Moravian Church and published in London, in 1754.†

Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg, who, for a period, was to make of Bethlehem an episcopal residence, was born in 1704, in Prussia. He became a professor of theology at Jena and later at Halle, but was removed from his post by royal decree because of his sympathy for the Moravians. He joined, formally, with them in 1733. He was the advance agent and leader of the first Georgia party in 1734, and from there went to Pennsylvania in 1735, where he lived with Christian Wiegner among the Schwenkfelders in the valley of the Perkiomen. Here he formed the acquaintance of Henry Antes and of many other influential men in the colony.

\* Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 157.

† *Ibid.*, p. 97.

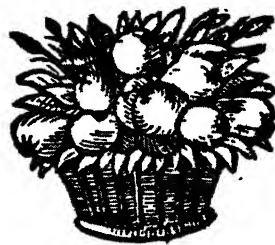
# Hirten Lieder

Von

## Bethlehem,

Zum Gebrauch

Vor alles was arm ist,  
Was klein und gering ist.



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Germantown, gedruckt bey C. Saur, 1742.

Spangenberg, the friend and co-adjutor of Zinzendorf, was, after his departure in 1742, chosen to carry on the work begun at Bethlehem. Far more than the Count, he was the head and heart of Moravian colonization in America. Eminent for spiritual fervor, he was besides so filled with that knowledge of life called "common sense" and "tact" that almost everything of permanent value in the development of Moravian settlement in America can be safely attributed to him. After Zinzendorf's death he became the head of the governing body in Saxony and died there September 18, 1792. He was buried at Herrnhut. "Endowed with rare and manifold talents; a ripe scholar; possessed of sound judgment and great decision of character; throughout his pure and self-sacrificing career, Spangenberg exhibited untiring zeal and unfaltering devotion to both the temporal and spiritual welfare of his church." \*

On November 30th, 1744, Bishop Spangenberg, who had been consecrated to the highest office of his church, July 26th previous, took up his residence in Bethlehem and made known his comprehensive scheme for the organization, "The Patriarchal Plan," which had been worked out before he left Europe. While to the casual observer the Spangenberg plan may not seem germane to the subject of music, it must be remembered that, without the first nine provisions and the last, Bethlehem's music specifically, and Moravian music generally, would never have attained the influence in Pennsylvania, in the eighteenth century, which is conceded. No apology is therefore offered for the inclusion of the sixteen items which, in substance, follow:

\* John W. Jordan, *Bishop Augustus Gottlieb Spangenberg*, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, vol. viii, pp. 233-40.



AUGUSTUS GOTTLIEB SPANGENBERG

Episcopus : 1704-1792

From Ritter's *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia*.

1. An itinerant congregation and a local church settlement, *Pilgergemeinde*, *Ortsgemeine*, to be established, and small congregations formed whenever needful.\* 2. The

\* Cf. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 178 et seq.

itinerants to have their rendezvous ordinarily at Bethlehem, but are to move about "as a cloud before the wind of the Lord to fructify all places." 3. A central household, *Hausgemeine*, at Bethlehem to have charge of the general establishment. 4. A house for single men and one for single women, and organization of older boys and girls into choir divisions. 5. The centralization of a large number of single persons, remaining single, in such establishments not advised in America, as married people are more serviceable. 6. Six farms are to be opened on the Nazareth land, on which groups of people are to be located and organized as a "Patriarchal Economy." \* 7. "The large house"—the Whitefield House at Nazareth—to become an institution for children. 8. The Brethren in America to be called Evangelical Brethren and a Brethren's Church, not Protestant, or Lutheran or Moravian. 9. A Church settlement at Nazareth could be formed as a Moravian congregation, *ceteris paribus*. 10. Work among Indians to be prosecuted on apostolic principles. 11. Wyoming must not be lost sight of as prospective congregation. 12. The Synod shall remain a general one, open to all servants of Christ. It shall be regarded as a Church of God in the Spirit with a general direction extending among people of all denominations. 13. Fundamental principles adopted in the first seven "Conferences of Religions" are to be undeviatingly adhered to. 14. The Testament of the Ordinarius made before his departure from Pennsylvania elucidates those

\*The idea, says Bishop Levering, was to thus develop the resources of the domain, as the chief supply for the support of everything carried on by the central administration at Bethlehem, under a kind of broad family plan. The building of a central manor house, as the seat of a fraternal oversight, somewhat in keeping with the associations of the Barony under its nominal privileges was had in mind.



conferences and is not to be left out of sight. 15. In money matters, drafts (*i. e.* on Europe) are to be avoided; if necessary, long notice to be given in order not to embarrass the treasury. 16. The appointment of general overseers and matrons of children—*Kinder Eltern*—is to be held in mind and suitable persons are to be sought.\*

The Report of Bishop Spangenberg to Governor Denny, dated Bethlehem, November 29, 1756, contains a "Catalogue of all the men, women and children who for the present belong to the Bethlehem Economy, 1756." This reports 188 married persons, including widowers and widows, and 322 children = 510. "There are 96 children more with us—some orphans," not members of the Moravian Church, and therefore not included in list. There are also 225 single men, and 67 single women. This makes 802 church people—besides the 96 orphans and pupils above named. There is also the following memorandum : \*

"1. Bethlehem makes out a certain Religious Society intended for the Furtherance of the Gospel, as well among the Heathen as the Christians.

2. Forty-eight of the above mentioned Brethren and Sisters are actually employed for that End among the Heathen, not only on the continent of America, as Pennsylvania, New England, Barbadoes, Surinam, &c., but also in Several Islands, as Thomas', Croix, John's, Jamaica, &c.

3. Besides those mentioned just now, there are fifty-four of them employed in the Pennsylvania, New England, Jersey & Carolina Governments, in preaching of the Gospel, keeping of schools, & the like.

4. Sixty-two of them are employ'd in the Education of our children at Bethlehem & Nazareth as attendants and Tutors.

\* *Pennsylvania Archives, 1756-1760*, vol. iii. 69-76.

5. Forty-five Single men & eight Couples of married People are gone to Carolina to make a new Settlement there, & fifty more, who have come from Europe for that end, will go there soon.

6. There are seventy-two of the above mentioned Brethren in Holy Orders, viz.: Four Bishops, twelve Ordinaries (Priests), and the rest Deacons; and as many *Acoluthi*, who are preparing for the Ministry in the Congregation, & now & then are made use of like Deacons.

7. About ninety of the Children at Bethlehem and Nazareth have their Parents abroad, mostly on the Gospel's Account.

8. Four hundred and twenty-five of those in the foregoing List are under age.

9. Not all who are named in this Catalogue live in Bethlehem Township, but some in Sackona, some in Liehy [Lehigh] & some in another Township joining Bethlehem Township.

10. There are eighty-two Indians besides those young Indian Women who live with our young Women, and besides the Savages who are going and coming & staying longer or shorter with us."

The Family Economy \* of the Brethren was not confined to Bethlehem, but comprised the settlements on the Nazareth tract. While there was at Bethlehem a "Church of Pilgrims," in which all brethren and sisters capable of spiritual labor were retained in that "school of the prophets," the practical farmers were mostly sent to the Nazareth settlements, which were intended to raise the necessary means for carrying on the work of the Lord by

\* *Vide* Levering, *A History of Bethlehem, 1741-1892*, p. 179 *et seq.*, for application of the word Economy to Bethlehem and the duration of the system, which, strictly speaking, lasted from 1745 to 1762.

agricultural labor. Therefore they called the colony the the Patriarchal Economy. Here, also, it was the main object of Spangenberg and his assistants, to promote the spiritual growth of the colonists.\*

The somewhat elaborate system, prevalent in the Moravian church in the eighteenth century, and known as the choir system, grew out of the special covenant † of consecrated service of seventeen young women and girls, instituted under the guidance of Anna Charity Nitschmann, at Herrnhut, May 4, 1730. This specialized group or unit became, in Count Zinzendorf's plan of organization, a series of groups, until there were ten choirs ‡ at Herrnhut. A code of choir-principles was eventually established, a system of organization and leadership for each choir was elaborated; regular choir meetings, choir liturgies and anniversary choir festivals introduced. Partly from practical necessity and partly in pursuance of the institutional conception applied at that time to all social and religious life, the establishment of choir houses by the several divisions became a leading feature of every regular settlement.§ In pursuance of the formation of Bishop Spangenberg's general plan or Economy the choir system was made operative at Bethlehem.

Not the least interesting evidence of Bishop Spangenberg's efforts to encourage a cheerful *esprit de corps* and awaken enthusiasm, is to be found in the way numerous gatherings of all classes of workers, on all kinds of occasions

\* *Transactions of the Moravian Society*, Vol. III.

† Elizabeth Lehman Myers, *A Century of Moravian Sisters*, Chapter II. *Choir of the Single Sisters*.

‡ A. H. Mumford, *Our Church's Story*, London, 1911, p. 198.

§ Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 197.

and for all sorts of purposes, were managed. These usually combined a devotional, social and business character. With them were commonly associated a meal, more or less substantial, for all assembled. According to the custom of the hour, they were spoken of as "love feasts," and served an important purpose in the matter of maintaining the general *morale* of the Economy.

These *agapae*, or love feasts, were a wise stroke of business policy and helped to invest the laborious life with an idyllic charm. A spirit was aroused and maintained that prompted men to sing hymns, or discourse melody on instruments of music, when they went to the harvest fields and when they returned from them after the burden and heat of the day. And then, when they set out with axes, cross-cut saws and equipment for a week's camping in the forest, to fell timber and float it down the Lehigh, cheerful and rapid work was done. Those were heroic days, and in the main the people nobly lived up to the thought, given them by Bishop Spangenberg, "*In commune oramus, In commune laboramus, In commune patimur, In commune gaudeamus.*"

Besides the regular love-feasts on every Saturday afternoon, which had begun January 30, 1745, and continued for many years, there were others for smaller and larger companies on particular occasions. Thus, on February 5, nine brethren had a love-feast before commencing ploughing for that year.

Love feasts for the milkers, the washers, the threshers, became very frequent. On August 13th, 1745, there was a harvest love feast at Nazareth after the greater part of the farm work had been done, and a large stable for the sheep had been finished. It was an edifying meeting and Mary Spangenberg spoke very feelingly concerning child-like

faith. The spinning business among the sisters was then organized and "Mother Mary" closed the service with prayer. From the latter part of 1745 these love feasts served also for the cultivation of musical and poetical talents. Hymns for every daily activity served as an aid to the fulfillment of arduous tasks. Bishop Spangenberg's hymn for the spinning sisters, written October 27, 1745, might well have relieved the tedium of their constant occupation as they softly sang :

Know, ye sisters, in this way  
Is your work a blessing,  
If for Jesus' sake you spin,  
Toiling without ceasing.

Spin and weave, compelled by love,  
Sew and wash with fervor,  
And the Saviour's grace and love  
Make you glad forever.

Other brethren and sisters followed this example, and though their hymn productions are by no means poetic masterpieces, they breathe a spirit of fervent piety, and are in themselves the best proof that it was their sincere endeavor to devote to the Lord their best powers of mind and body. The hymns composed for shepherds, ploughmen, threshers, reapers, spinners, knitters, washers and sewers, would make a "farmer's hymn-book."

Even when travelling the Moravian of patriarchal times, had his "Reislieder" or travelling hymns. These, sung in the solitude of his chamber before retiring, or at rising in the morning, or performed in agreeable chorus by several pilgrims, added solace to the journey, and, if on a mission of evangelical labor assuaged its toils and hardships. The Moravians are essentially a musical people, although, in the olden times music was more generally

cultivated than at present. Hymns and music were used not only in the churches and on all festival occasions, but in the family, at meals, in the fields, in the work shops and while travelling; even yet, the good customs in this regard have not passed away, and the *Wiegenlieder* or cradle hymns may be heard sung by the sweet voices of the little ones in the good old town of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.\*

The second stanza of hymn 1263, in Hymnal of 1908, to tune 581, by Freylinghausen, is a beautiful example of child-like faith and musical charm :

What Thou shalt to-day provide  
Let me as a child receive;  
What to-morrow may betide,  
Calmly to Thy wisdom leave;  
'Tis enough that Thou wilt care :  
Why should I the burthen bear?

Amid the excitement prevalent in view of the impending Indian Treaty of 1754 and the passing and repassing of Indians and soldiers, the Brethren commenced their annual harvest on July 4th, without intermitting the festivities with which they were wont to mark the ingathering of the fruits of the earth. The women with sickles and under an escort of Indians, in one company, and the men in another, marched in the procession, amid the notes of flutes and horns, to the fields that lay to the east and west of the town.†

\* Cf. John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania: With Some Account of the Moravian Society*. MSS. copy in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

† Wm. C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*.

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BETHLEHEM MUSICAL ACTIVITIES  
THE COLLEGIUM MUSICUM, 1744

IN his comprehensive summarization of "Early Concert-Life in America, 1731-1800," Dr. Oscar G. Sonneck thus touches upon the musical side of Moravian life:

"In only one settlement outside of Philadelphia flourished anything like a musical life, and there the love of music was so deeply rooted as to make the town in course of time the center of the American Bach cult. When founding Bethlehem in 1741 the Moravians brought with them from Germany a natural love of music and this love has ever since remained an inheritance guarded by both sexes. The settlement soon became famous for its musical atmosphere. Franklin, Washington, Samuel Adams and other prominent men of Colonial times, when visiting Bethlehem, were deeply impressed by this musical atmosphere and their diaries and letters vividly testify to this impression.\* But whereas in Philadelphia, Charleston, New York and Boston the musical life was mainly an offspring from English conditions, the German influence predominated in this and in other Moravian settlements. Furthermore, while the fame of Bethlehem's music soon spread, her musical life never received a noteworthy influence beyond her own boundaries. Within, however, music brought joy and contentment to young and old; music dwelt in the houses, in the church, in the fields among the toilers, in short, was essential to the daily life of these sturdy people. This cannot be doubted if one reads Rufus A. Grider's 'Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

\* O. G. Sonneck, *Early Concert-Life in America (1731-1800)*. Leipzig, 1907, pp. 156-7.

From 1741 to 1870 (Philadelphia, 1873). Unfortunately this valuable book, possibly for lack of authentic documents and traditions, rapidly passes over the more secular aspect of the musical life of Bethlehem during the eighteenth century. However, we are told that shortly after the foundation, and before 1750, a Collegium Musicum was formed and existed for many years. Though the members of the Collegium assisted in the weekly serenades, ending oddly enough in the graveyard with the improvised singing of hymn-tunes, it goes without saying that the club, if it deserved its name at all, cultivated secular music at least as much as sacred; and if the orchestral parts to works by Alberti and others, as preserved in the library of the Philharmonic Society, originally belonged to the Collegium Musicum, we need no further corroboration of this opinion. The very name would imply, by way of analogy with conditions in Germany, informal gatherings of the active and associate members of the club at regular intervals when they would form or deepen acquaintance with orchestral, concerted or solo chamber music. In short, amateur concerts without pretentious or perfect rendition, but covering a wide range of the best music of the age."

To the foregoing a foot note adds: "It would be interesting to know if the orchestra at Bethlehem was composed of both sexes as at Herrnhut, where, as Busby says in his 'Concert room and orchestra anecdotes, 1825,' in the band of forty or fifty persons the ladies played the violin, violoncello, flute and other instruments as well as the men, from whom, however, they sat strictly separate."

"The separation of the sexes," continues Mr. Grider,\* "was a distinguishing feature in the Moravian congrega-

\* John Hill Martin, *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*, Chapter xv, Music in Bethlehem, by Rufus A. Grider. See Appendix, 3.



tions until about the beginning of the present century.\* \* \* Its effects upon music were such that no vocal performances could take place in the concert room, except those in which male voices alone could take part. It exercised considerable restraint even on the church music, since the female singers were required to occupy the northern part of the church and the male singers gathered around the organ and in the gallery, which is at the extreme southern end of the church.

“From existing printed and written psalms and music used on festal occasions, from 1768 to 1795, it is evident that *two* choirs of singers existed, a male and a female, each complete in itself. Some pieces were sung by the first, others, entirely by the latter, and in some compositions they were made to respond to each other.” This exclusiveness was ended about 1803 when the new church was built.

Dr. Albert G. Rau, Dean of the Moravian College and Theological Seminary at Bethlehem, organist of the Moravian Church of Bethlehem, and president of the Lehigh Valley Symphony Orchestra, in an address before the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America, at Philadelphia, in March, 1917, gave a comprehensive account of the musical activities of Bethlehem's early days. This account is, substantially, incorporated in what here follows. As to the position occupied in the *Collegium Musicum* by the choir sisters, Dr. Rau said:

These statements are true only of the period before 1752. After that date the seating of the separated sexes was such that four- and eight-part mixed choruses were regularly sung.

The error in the statements results from the fact that many of the older liturgical services were printed in antiphonal shape. It has not been observed, however, that,

in each such service, there are passages marked for the entire congregation and for the choir.

In this connection it may be noted that it is almost certain that while some of the Sisters played on sundry musical instruments, both stringed and keyed, none of them played in the orchestra of the Collegium Musicum of Bethlehem.

For years the single sisters had a spinet and a harpsichord, as well as guitars and *possibly* other stringed instruments of the violin family in their House. The performers were members of their own choir, and they played for their own amusement, helping in the music of their own Prayer Hall. There was no charge for lessons; and talent was sought for, and when found, developed. People who practiced music were looked upon as servants of the church and were expected to assist in any church performances when called upon by the director of church music.

During Bethlehem's first ten years of existence the cultivation of music by its settlers was dedicated almost exclusively to the services of the church; whether with song and organ in the house of worship, or with horns and oboes in the harvest field, or with trumpets in joyous crash on festal days, or with trombones signaling a visit of the angel of death. Strings and wind instruments are repeatedly alluded to by the diarist as adding to the solemnity of worship, and just as often he mentions their use in a social manner for the recreation and cultivation of groups within the various community houses. Just what music these early settlers played is not definitely known. It is known, however, that they used antiphonal liturgies some of which they composed themselves. John C. Pyrlaeus and Christian F. Oerter were the leading musicians of the time, and both of them composed music for such liturgical ser-

vices. Such music was of the simplest, perhaps rather of the crudest sort, and much of it was in the form of the German chant. A very few of these liturgies remain in the collection belonging to the church, and while they are highly interesting historically they are hardly fitted for modern performance.\*

Bishop Levering, in connection with his account of the arrival at Bethlehem, in 1744, of the Knowlton spinet, elsewhere alluded to, says: "With this episode may be associated mention of the first hints found, during the months following, of particular attention being given to music at Bethlehem. Stringed instruments of music were evidently brought to the settlement by some members of the first Sea Congregation, for Indians who visited the place were entertained with such music before the second Colony arrived. Early in 1744 there are traces of organized vocal music and of occurrences in connection therewith more or less common to modern church choirs; for already, in the month of February, a misunderstanding among the singers called forth a sharp reproof from the Elder. In the following April occurs the first mention of the single men singing hymns outside the buildings, at different points, on Saturday evenings, a custom maintained with considerable regularity for some years. Later on these twilight serenades at the close of the week often consisted of instrumental performances. In the same month of April, the Easter matins, at four o'clock, were accompanied with instrumental music, in the procession to the new God's acre, with its three or four graves." On December 13, 1744, after Spangenberg had commenced to apply his understandingness to the development of every feature

\* An outline of musical activities at Bethlehem, taken from the Diaries and Archives of the Church.

of the Community life, "the first formal meeting of a *Collegium Musicum*, then organized," took place in the House of the Sun-Dial occupied by the unmarried brethren. The musical leader, at that period—before this George Neisser, now in Europe, and Anton Seiffert, the Elder—was Pyrlaeus, who, besides being a good singer, played the spinet and then the chamber organ, and drilled both vocalists and instrumentalists." \*

Polyglot singing on special occasions had its place in Bethlehem for a few years, as it had at the centers of the Church in Europe. This was possible only at gatherings where persons of various nationalities and languages, or, at least, persons acquainted with such languages were present. One such occasion was on August 21, 1745, the thirteenth anniversary of the first missionary work of the Moravian Church among the heathen. Then the same verses, as rendered in English, German, Swedish, Danish and Jewish-German, were sung simultaneously to the same tune, by those whose native tongue belonged to this list. It was observed on that occasion that eighteen languages were spoken among Moravian converts in various countries. Another such outpouring in song took place on September 4, following. Three days before Pyrlaeus had rendered the first verses from the German hymnal into the Mohican language to the tune *In Dulce Jubilo*. At that love-feast thirteen languages figured in the polyglot harmony; academicians, missionaries and residents of Bethlehem from various European countries; men who were masters of three or four languages and Indian converts, uniting their voices in the strains accompanied by the music of wind and stringed instruments. The languages were Bohemian,

\* Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 172.

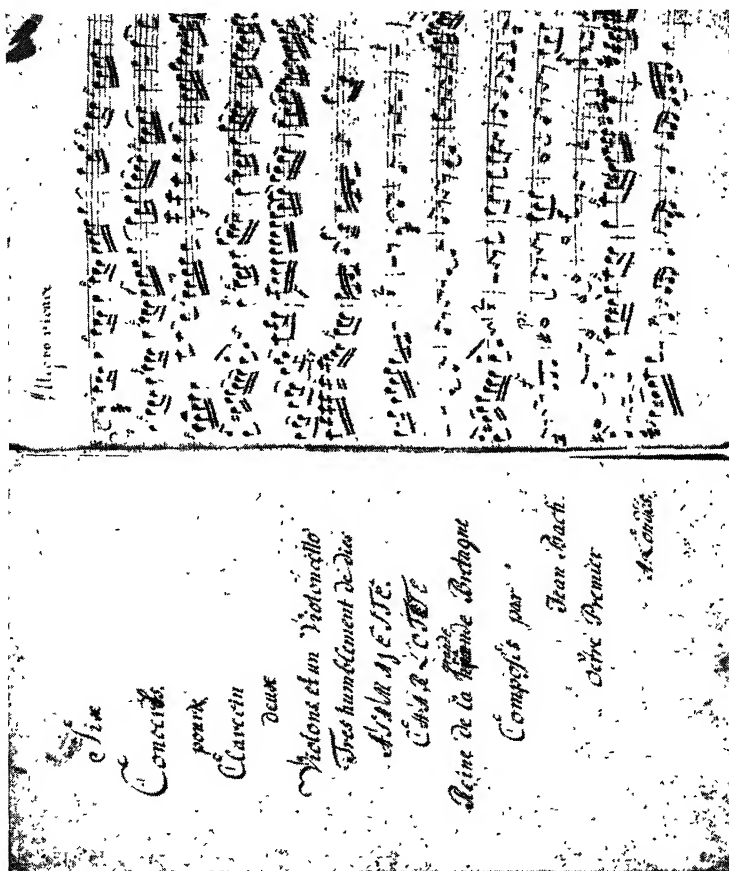
Dutch, English, French, German, Greek, Irish, Latin, Mohawk, Mohican, Swedish, Welsh, Wendish; and, it was stated, that three persons representing yet other languages were present who did not contribute: Matthew Reuz the Dane, Matthew Hancke the Pole, and Christopher Baus the Hungarian."

In connection with demonstrations of this kind, the desire was increased to cultivate the musical talent of Bethlehem to a higher degree of excellence and serviceableness. There is mention occasionally of fine music rendered by Pyrlaeus; of cantatas arranged by Oerter and verses composed and set to music by Neisser, who seems to have been the most skillful in the preparation of scores. At a conference on this subject in October, 1747, it was stated that Spangenberg, who had organized the first *Collegium Musicum* at Herrnhut, and was much interested in this subject, in the midst of his heavy responsibilities and arduous labors in more important matters, thought the prospect, just then, not encouraging for bringing the orchestra up to a proper churchly ideal. At a meeting of the Bethlehem *Collegium Musicum*, on January 14, 1748, it was noted that the organization then numbered fourteen, mostly single men and older boys. Their leader, Pyrlaeus, being at that time stationed at Gnadenhuetten, they were drilled by John Eric Westmann, who devoted one hour each evening to this task. On that occasion a subscription list was opened for a fund to purchase instruments. Increased effort is apparent in cultivating musical talent among children at this period.\*

Under the leadership of John Eric Westmann the *Collegium Musicum* was devoted to both instrumental and

\* Cf. Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 204-5.

choral art and included in its membership all those in the community who could sing or play on an instrument. Weekly rehearsals were held and choral works with instru-



First page of violin part of a Concerto in C-major by J. C. Bach.  
Handwriting of the Rev. Immanuel Nitschmann

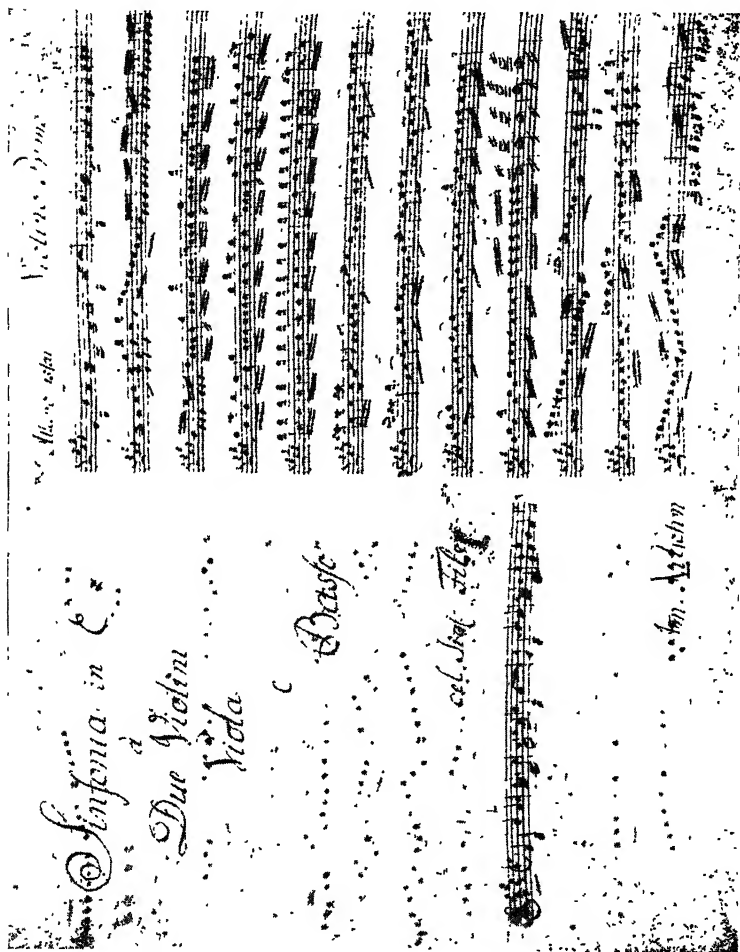
mental accompaniment, both religious and secular, were performed. There are no manuscripts in the Bethlehem Library whose dates would lead to the belief that they

formed part of the repertoire of this body of musicians. Hence it is difficult to be certain as to the work they did. It is easy to believe that most of their secular instrumental work consisted in the performance of chamber music and that the larger body of players was used only at festival occurrences. The diarist records, however, that on numerous occasions, the wind and string instruments were used outdoors to greet arriving and departing guests, as well as to cheer the hours of the workers.

In 1761 the Rev. Immanuel Nitschmann, a good violin player, became the leader of the musicians. He had come from Europe bringing manuscript scores of symphonies and quartettes, and for the performance of these a regular orchestra was formed. The names of the players in 1780 are known, they were: first violins, the Rev. Immanuel Nitschmann and the Rev. Jacob Van Vleck; second violins, Abraham Levering and Matthew Wittke; viola, Frederick Beck; violincellos, David Weinland and Joseph Till; French horns, William Lempke and Tobias Boeckel; flutes, Samuel Bader and Joseph Oerter. To these were added later James Hall, an oboist, and William Bourquin, a bassoon player. Of the music performed by these pioneers there remain 146 numbers; a few in copper-plate, the greater part of them, however, in laborious manuscript. There are nine symphonies by Haydn, three by Mozart, and many others by John C. Bach, Graun, Abel, Gyrowetz, Stamitz and Wranitzky. Some of these are scored for strings and wind with trumpets; others for more modest combinations of strings and horns. Some of the early chamber music of Mozart and earlier symphonies were performed in the Brethren's House at Bethlehem under the direction of Nitschmann before 1790.\* Manuscript copies of six trios

\* Cf. Raymond Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, 1923, Chapter I. Also Appendix, 3.

for strings and of three symphonies, preserved in the music archives of the Moravian Church are dated prior to 1785.



Title page and First Violin copy of a quartette by Anton Fils (1725-60).  
Handwriting of the Rev. Immanuel Nitschmann

The claim of Mr. Goepp\* that, "in the eighteenth century,

\* Philip H. Goepp, *Annals of Music in Philadelphia*, p. 24.



when Philadelphia easily surpassed New York in musical culture, the highest musical activity in the country existed in Bethlehem" seems well grounded. In a personal letter to Mr. Walters\* he adds that Bethlehem "has other similar boasts that she has been slow in making, notably that of the production of Mozart's symphonies within a few years of their composition. Think of a symphony orchestra in the 1790's!" Many of the sheets show unmistakable signs of continual use, and, it is undoubted, when their chronological order is examined, that there was a continuous existence for this orchestra from its inception to 1820.

Most of the players in this orchestra were clergymen, clerks of the church organization, or tradesmen. None of them could really have been called a professional. It is to be presumed that many of their performances were crude and unfinished, and yet the careful phrasing marks, still visible on the separate parts, indicate that there was a very definite attempt at artistic production. The concerts given by the organization formed a flowing series of performances uninterrupted during many years; sometimes as many as thirty-six being given in one year. The only financial return that these enthusiasts received came in the shape of a voluntary collection taken at the concerts, and the receipts of an entire year never went over \$25.00. The expenses were small, however, as music was furnished by individuals, and strings and instrumental fittings were manufactured by artisans in the town. Indeed, they even made instruments, for during many years there remained in Nazareth and Bethlehem a full quartette of violins carrying the name "John Antes fecit." The first pair of kettle drums owned in Bethlehem was spun and headed in the

\* Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, p. 20.

town. There is no evidence that either wood or brass instruments were made in Bethlehem, while the accounts

Handwritten musical score for Symphony in D-major by C. F. Abel. The score is written on ten staves. The first staff is labeled "Soprano" and the second "Alto". The third staff is labeled "Violone Primo" and the fourth "Violone Secondo". The fifth staff is labeled "Viola" and the sixth "Baritone". The seventh staff is labeled "Violoncello" and the eighth "Basso". The ninth staff is labeled "Fagotto" and the tenth "Tromba". The score is written in a cursive hand and includes various musical notations such as notes, rests, and clefs.

Symphony in D-major, by C. F. Abel  
Handwriting of John Frederick Peter, 1767

of the Society reveal the fact that they were repeatedly pur-

chased in Nuremburg. Thus a new set of French horns was bought in 1796, and a "good" pair of tympani in 1798.

Two full scores in print, of date earlier than 1800, one of Mozart's arrangement of Handel's *Messiah* and the other of Graun's *Passion*, attest the full development of the choral music of the time and place. There is no evidence that either of these works was performed in its entirety. But manuscript singing and orchestra parts of sundry portions make certain that these, at least, were used.

Other oratorios used so often that it was necessary to re-bind or re-write parts were: *Mary and John*, by Schultz; *Ninety-fifth Psalm*, by Riechert; *The Passion*, by Haydn; and *Israelites in the Desert*, by C. P. E. Bach.

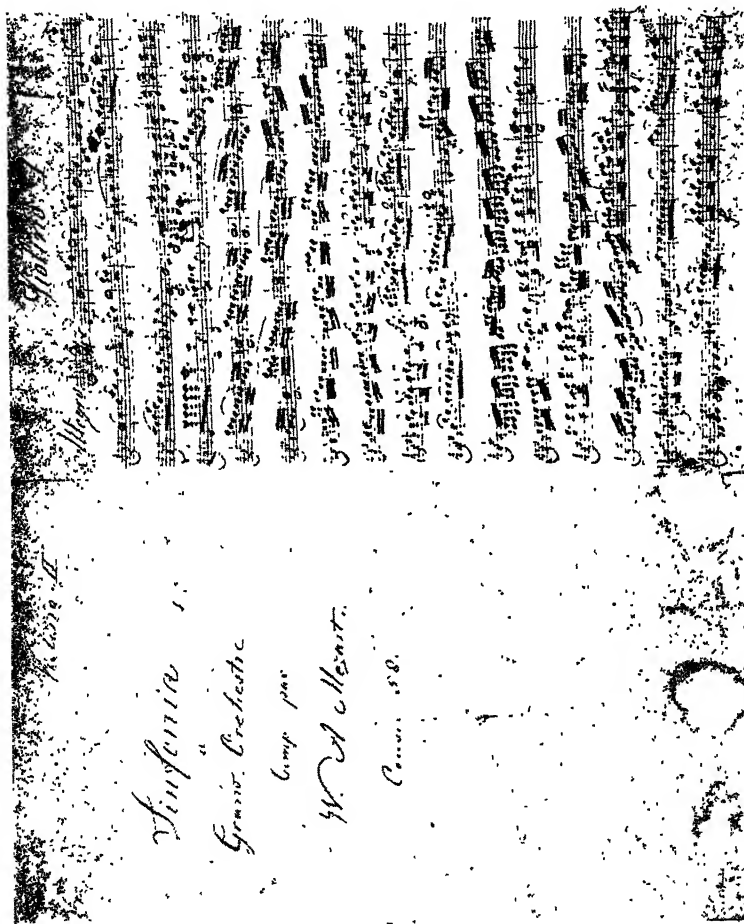
The rehearsals of the organization were held in the Little Hall of the so-called Gemein Haus. Each player had a great clumsy wooden stand, those of the first violin being so high that players must have remained on their feet during the entire performance. Each stand had a wooden arm to the left into which was sunk the socket of a short, twice-folding brass candlestick. By means of its folding arms this candlestick could easily be adjusted to diffuse a fairly comfortable illumination.

It is a question whether music as serious as that performed by these non-professionals could have been heard in their day anywhere else in America.

The Bethlehem musicians were not only reproducers, they also were creators. Between 1745 and 1840 there was a continuous stream of original compositions, most of them, belonging to the class of "occasional" works, but at least half of them being contributions to the field of pure music.

The works of John Christopher Pyrlaeus and Christian Frederick Oerter were altogether liturgical. Those of the former show a knowledge of the laws of harmony and

musical form ; those of the latter are crude and are evidently the product of good intention without much train-



Title page and First Violin part of the Symphony in E-flat by Mozart.  
In the handwriting of John C. Till

ing. Between 1770 and 1812 John Frederick Peter was the musical genius of the place. He was born and trained at Herrndyk, in Holland, and came to Bethlehem in 1770,



The first page of a compressed score of Haydn's Creation, copied at Bethlehem, in 1810, by John Frederick Peter. The work was sung at Bethlehem in 1811.

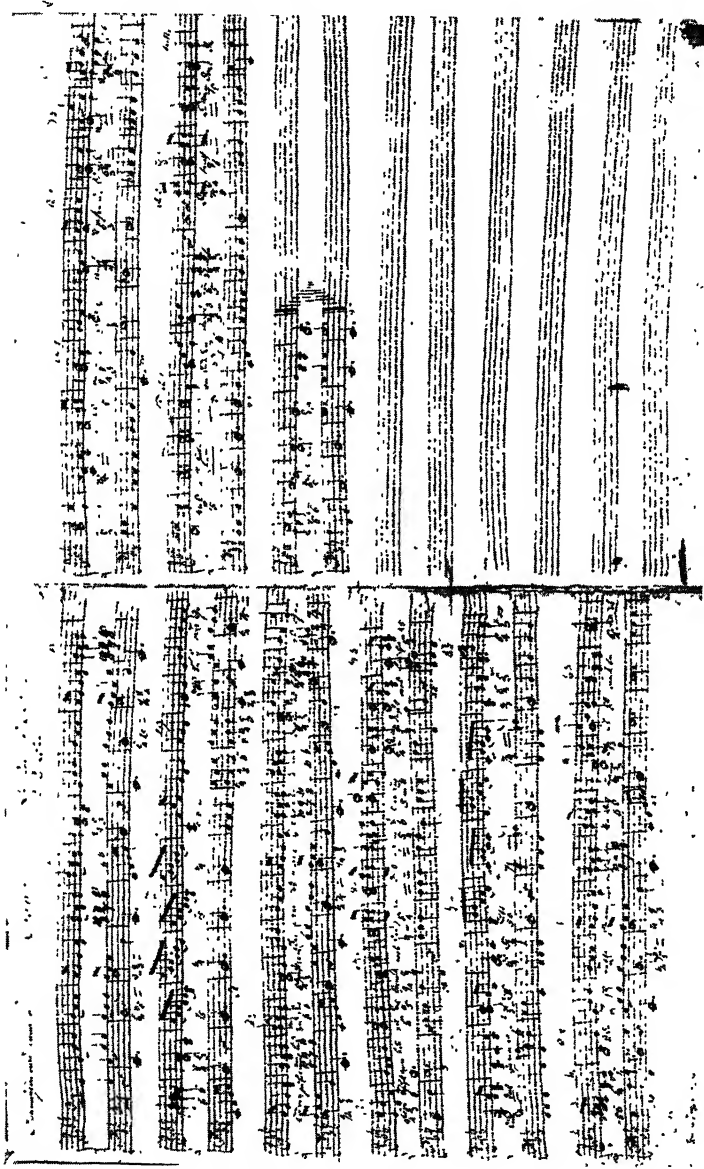
as accountant in the Single Brethren's House. From 1779 to 1793 he was occupied with similar, or pastoral, duties in various other Moravian communities. From the latter date until his sudden death in 1813 he was organist at Bethlehem. During this long period his neat and accurate hand did most of the manuscript copying for the church library and for the Collegium Musicum, and his indefatigable energy was the driving force that brought about a continuation of the constructive musical work of Immanuel Nitschmann, who had died in 1790.

John Frederick Peter was a well-trained musician, both organist and violinist, and left a large mass of original material. There are thirty-eight anthems composed by him in the library of the church, and in that of the Collegium there are a number of his concerted pieces for strings and for small orchestral combinations. Among the examples here given are two pages of the full score of a set of five quintettes for strings. While the development in these works is sometimes feeble, they are extremely interesting, both harmonically and contrapuntally as specimens of very early American composition.

One writer says of him: "An examination of the first page of the score of a group of six quintettes for two violins, two violas and cello will show a command of form and counterpoint far above that exhibited by any contemporary American composition of which the writer has any knowledge."

Another prolific composer of the Bethlehem colony, most of whose work, however, was done at Lititz during his pastorate there, was John G. Herbst. Almost all of his compositions are anthems for special occasions.

That curious character, John Antes, son of Henry Antes of Fredericktown, Montgomery County, was the



## PASSIONSGETOENE

A Good Friday anthem by Gebhardt. Used yearly since 1770. Copy by John Frederick Peter.

composer of a number of quartettes for strings and of anthems for church use. In the course of his world-wanderings Antes made the musical acquaintance of Joseph Haydn, in Vienna, and there played in quartettes either with or before that master. Rufus A. Grider's *Historical Notes* printed in 1873, and based, in part, upon records since lost, relate that "in 1795 a select party consisting of the Reverend John Frederick Frueauff first violin, George Frederick Beckel second violin, John George Weiss viola, and David Wineland 'cello, constituted an organization for performing Joseph Haydn's quartettes, then quite new." \*

The score† of the *Creation* which reached the community in 1810 was rendered in the following year. Fifteen orchestra players accompanied the singers. The names of the former are given by Grider. Of outstanding musical ability among these players were David Moritz Michael, the leader, and John Ricksecker, first clarinet. ‡

The most pretentious musical work composed at Bethlehem was a symphony from the hand and brain of David Moritz Michael. It is scored for full orchestra including trumpets, trombones and drums, and is interesting in development if not in thematic material. Michael was an excellent violinist, a co-worker with John Frederick Peter, and the leader of the *Collegium Musicum* to a date sometime after 1812. His more celebrated composition was, however, a suite for wind instruments called *Die Wasserfahrt*. From 1809, it was for many years used as a Whit-Monday village recreation by being played from a flat boat on the Lehigh

\* Raymond Walters, *The Bach Choir Book*, p. 18. Also Appendix, 3.

† The original score of the *Creation* made by John Frederick Peter, is preserved in the organ library of the Moravian Church with other scores of an earlier and later period.

‡ Cf. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, pp. 662-63.





First Clarinet part of The Water Music, by David Moritz Michael. Scored for two clarinets, two French horns, and bassoon.  
In upper right *D. M. M. Bei einer Quelle zu blasen.*

River, with the following setting. A large scow containing the musicians and four persons who pushed the boat by means of a long pole, started from Bethlehem, while the inhabitants and visitors walked along the river banks. The walk continued a mile without interruption to Keipers deep Hole. The composer had calculated his time so the music suited the current. When the scow reached the Deep Hole, the poles could no longer touch the bottom and the boat swung around without control. At this crisis the music was made to indicate the fears of the crew for their safety; but, as the scow glided into the onward gentle stream, the crew's joy at their deliverance from danger rang out in glad notes over the water to the listeners on shore.

"Michael, an extraordinary musician," says Greider,\* "could play on any wind instrument, and execute almost any movement on the violin. Most of the 'Partien,' so called, were of his composition and executed generally by wind instruments only, consisting of two clarinets, two horns, one or two bassoons and sometimes a trumpet.

Thus were the musical forces of Bethlehem held and trained, and the germ of a town band, as distinctive from orchestra or trombone choir, implanted by the equipment of clarionets, horns and bassoon necessary for the Michael water-music, probably the most secular music up to that time indulged in at Bethlehem, unless, perhaps stealthily, by some not always staid musicians outside the walls of Brethren House.\*

\* Cf. Greider's Historical Notes, Appendix, 3.

## MUSICAL INSTRUMENTS

THE Moravians in making their great adventure to the western world brought with them the German love of music and the German disposition to consecrate music to the love of God. Instruments of strings, both violin, viola-da-braccio, and viola-da-gamba, with flutes and French horns, were played for the first time in the house of God at Bethlehem, at the Christmas feast, December 25, 1743, and it is recorded that the famous Indian chief Tschoop was buried amidst strains of music in 1746. An attack by Indians was, it is said, averted, in 1755, by a dirge on the trombones, the Indians supposing it meant an alarm.

A virginal or spinet, the gift of William Peter Knowlton, of Fenchurch Street, London, fanmaker, then an English member of the Church and later, for a few years, of Philadelphia, was forwarded to Bethlehem in January, 1744. This the first musical instrument of the kind in Bethlehem, was the forerunner of its ultimate abundant pianoforte equipment, as well as of the small, portable organ, *Orgel positiv*, of two years later, made for the place by the Swede, Gustavus Hesselius.\* This, brought from Philadelphia, was set up in the chapel by the Moravian organ builder, John Gottlob Klemm, then also of Philadelphia, formerly a teacher of boys at Herrnhut, who had become estranged from Zinzendorf and emigrated alone to Pennsylvania. The Knowlton spinet on its arrival, so the record states, looked very delapidated; but skilled hands were busy to put it together, and the next day, January 26, 1744, it could be used for worship. The Hesselius-Klemm organ reached Bethlehem early in June, 1746, and on June 18, accompanied the chorals of the ritual. It was played by Brother John C. Pyrlaeus on this occasion. In Sep-

\* Cf. Appendix, 4.

tember, 1751, the organ was repaired by Robert Hartafel of Lancaster, who, when at home in Marienborn, near Frankfort-on-the-Main, made several clavichords for the Moravian "School of the Prophets" at that place. On November 17, 1761, this instrument was conveyed to Lititz and there installed by David Tanneberger. \*

David Tanneberger, born March 21, 1728, in Berthelsdorf, Saxony, a skilful joiner, and, perhaps, the best known of the early Moravian organ builders, came to the colony in 1749. He assisted Klemm in building organs for the churches in Bethlehem, and Nazareth. They had their shop in Bethlehem, and there are repeated references to excursions by Tanneberger to different places in search of lumber for organ-building.

In 1758 Klemm and Tanneberger built a pipe organ for the chapel of the settlement in Nazareth Hall. After Klemm's death, May 5, 1762, the organ used at Bethlehem was conveyed to Lititz, and Tanneberger went along to set it up. He removed to Lititz in August, 1765, where he continued to build organs for forty years.

The last organ built by Tanneberger was for the Lutheran church in York, Pennsylvania. While setting it up he was stricken with paralysis, fell from a scaffold and died May 19th, 1804. At his funeral service his last organ was played for the first time. The organ in the Moravian church in South Bethlehem, the former Lititz church organ, was built by him in 1787 and transferred to South Bethlehem in 1880. It has since been replaced by a more modern instrument.†

\* Sometimes Tanneberg and Tannenbergh.

† Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, 364.

The image shows a page of handwritten musical notation, likely a manuscript for an anthem. The page is divided into two systems of staves. The left system contains ten staves, and the right system contains five staves. The notation is in a historical style, with many notes and rests. There are some handwritten annotations and markings throughout the score.

An anthem for Maundy Thursday by Freydt. Copied by John Frederick Peter about 1780 and still used, yearly, at Bethlehem

Tanneberger also manufactured pianos, which he sold at twenty-pounds, ten shillings. He was an excellent musician and possessed of a good voice. His son-in-law and partner, John Philip Bachmann, succeeded him in the business.

A list of the organs built by him, prepared by the late John W. Jordan, Ph. D., of Philadelphia, and printed in the *Pennsylvania Magazine of History* \* is appended.

1761.† Lititz, a chapel organ costing forty pounds.

1767. Albany, New York.

1768. Maxatawney,‡ Pennsylvania.

1769. Goshenhoppen, Pennsylvania.

1770. Lancaster, for the Reformed Church. Hebron near Lebanon; destroyed by fire in 1858.

1774. Lancaster, for Trinity Lutheran Church;§ it had twenty registers. Lancaster, for St. Mary's Catholic Church.

1776. Easton, Pennsylvania.

1787. Lititz, church organ, three hundred and fifty pounds; Brethren's House, Sister's House, fifty pounds.

1790. Philadelphia, Zion Lutheran Church, Fourth

\* Volume xxii, pp. 231-233.

† November 19, 1761. The new organ arrived from Bethlehem. It was used for the first time on December 1, the organist being Brother John Thomas.—*Lititz Church Diary*.

‡ March, 1769. Various musicians from Lancaster came to inspect Brother David Tanneberger's new organ, built for a church in Maxatany.—*Lititz Church Diary*.

§ Dec. 26, 1774. To-day the organ built by Brother Tanneberger (it has twenty registers) for the Lutheran Church at Lancaster was consecrated. Dr. Adam Kuhn was here several days ago to ask that our trombone players might assist on this occasion. Accordingly five Brethren with trombones and hautboys started early in the morning and took part in the tunes at two preaching services.—*Lititz Church Diary*.



and Cherry Streets. President and Mrs. Washington, members of Congress and of the Pennsylvania Assembly, attended the dedication of this organ, January 8, 1791.\* It was the largest organ in the United States, and was destroyed by fire in 1794. While building the organ, Tanneberger wrote to a friend, "On the main manuel seven stops are now in place, and the pedals are complete with the exception of five pipes in the Trombone Bass. The Echo is in place and completed. On the upper manuel one stop, the Principal is finished. When all is drawn out on the lower manual, with Pedal, the church is well filled with the volume of sound."

1793, Nazareth, Pennsylvania, two hundred and seventy-four pounds for the Moravian Church. It was replaced by a new instrument in the spring of 1912, but all of the four hundred and twenty-one pipes of the old are used in the new organ.

1798, Salem, North Carolina, three hundred pounds: Hanover, Pennsylvania; Baltimore, Maryland, three hundred and seventy-five pounds; Macungie (Lehigh County), four hundred pounds; Tohicken, Pennsylvania, two hundred pounds; White Plains Township, two hundred pounds.

1799, Lancaster, Moravian Church, two hundred and sixty pounds.

1801, New Holland, Pennsylvania, Reformed Church, two hundred pounds; Madison, Virginia.

1804, York, Pennsylvania, for Christ Lutheran Church, three hundred and fifty-five pounds.

\* January 8, 1791. At 11 o'clock the members of Congress and the assembly attended a concert in the Lutheran church on Fourth Street. The President of the United States with his Lady was present.—*Extracts from the Diary of Jacob Hiltzheimer of Philadelphia, 1765-1798.*



## TROMBONES

"AMONG the beautiful customs which the modern Moravian Church has inherited from the fervent days in Herrnhut in the Zinzendorf era, there is none more distinctive or more beautiful than the use of trombones and other wind instruments to announce the death of a member, and to accompany the burial service." The foregoing paragraph and the three immediately following are from Adelaide L. Fries' *Trombone Choir*, in her *Funeral Chorals of the Unitas Fratrum or Moravian Church*. Winston-Salem, North Carolina, 1905.\*

"Just when trombones were introduced into Herrnhut does not appear. The first Easter service in the graveyard, at four o'clock in the morning of April 13, 1732, consisted of songs, and there is no record of instrumental music, but the Moravian emigrants to Georgia in 1735 took trombones and French horns. The diary of the Moravian Congregation in Savannah does not say how the trombones were used, but does state that when the Indian Chief Tomochichi died, the Moravians refused a request from General Oglethorpe to furnish trombone music at his funeral, an idea which would scarcely have occurred to the General had not the Moravians so accompanied the interment of their own dead.

"The origin of the announcement of a member's death by the trombones is also obscure. It was practiced in many of the German State Churches where it corresponded to the tolling of bells elsewhere, and since there were so many distinct 'Choirs' in the Moravian congregation, it was natural that a special tune should come to be assigned to each. Rev. C. A. Haehnle, of Nazareth, Pennsylvania, has suggested that the schedule of tunes may have been arranged

\* Cf. William C. Reichel, *Something About Trombones*.

by Christian Gregor, a hymn writer and skilled musician, who joined the *Unitas Fratrum* in 1742, served various congregations as organist until 1764, and filled important offices until his death in 1801. At least it seems safe to say that the use of trombones at funerals was established prior to 1736, and that the system of announcement hymns was elaborated before Zinzendorf's death in 1760. The full set of tunes and stanzas was printed in the German Moravian Liturgy Book of 1791, and subsequent editions, but they may well have been used long before that time.

"The Moravian churches in Germany, and certain in America, cherish their Trombone choirs, and with one exception all are still using the tunes selected in Herrnhut in the eighteenth century to announce the death of a member of the Congregation."

Before the introduction of the trombone at Bethlehem, its place was occupied by the French horn and trumpet. Both brass instruments were in use as early as May, 1744, at Bethlehem, occasionally in worship in church; for convoking the members of Synods to sessions, as in September, 1751, at Quittopshille; in the harvest field at the beginning of the harvest, on the streets of the village at dawn of Easter morning, and from the flat roof of the Single Brethren's House to announce the departure of a soul. Our forefathers invariably called this the "Trumpeter's Schall," or "Der Schall der Waldhörner."

In 1754 horn and trumpet were supplanted by the trombone—a child's burial had the services accompanied by the tones of "Posaunen" November 15, 1754. The performers on these instruments were called "Posaunisten," and their talents are still made use of to-day just as they were nearly two centuries ago.

From 1754 to 1767 the only set of trombones in



Trombone Belfry, Moravian Church, Bethlehem

America was at the Moravian Church at Bethlehem. The performers used four instruments in a set (though the trade knows of but three), i. e. soprano, alto, tenor and bass, a treble trombone (discant) taking the soprano, which the trade omits. The Bethlehem trombonists were therefore often called from home to play elsewhere. They played on the occasion of the laying of the cornerstone of Nazareth Hall, May, 1755, and on that of the opening of the school, June 6, 1759. On that day, the boys who were to be removed from the boys school at Bethlehem to Nazareth—there were one hundred and eleven of them, with nineteen tutors and attendants—took a ceremonious leave of their school home. Drawn up in order in front of the building, they started in procession, headed by the orchestra of boys with their instructor John Andrew Albrecht, leader of music.\* After singing several hymns, they formed in line, and marched, double file, towards Nazareth, while a farewell choral was rendered by the trombonist stationed on the terrace of the Brethren House.†

A set of trombones was imported for the North Carolina Church in 1765. They were first played at Bethabara.

In January, 1767, a set of sackbuts—"ein Chorposaunen"—was forwarded to Christian's Spring, through Brother Weiss of Herrnhut, from Nuremberg, Germany's musical headquarters. They cost, it is stated, but £6, Pennsylvania currency. From January, 1767 on, until the dissolution of the Christian's Spring Economy, in 1796, the "upper places" on the Barony, i. e. Nazareth, Gnadenthal, Friedensthal and Christian's Spring, were furnished with trombone music whenever required by trombonists of the

\* Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, pp. 331, 366-67.

† H. H. Hacker, *Nazareth Hall, An Historical Sketch*, Bethlehem, 1910, pp. 28-29.

*Coro.* *Organo-Organo* *in G-dur*

The musical score is written on multiple staves. The top staff is labeled "Coro." and "Organo-Organo" with "in G-dur" written below it. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The lyrics are written in German and are interspersed between the musical staves. The handwriting is in a cursive style, typical of 19th-century musical manuscripts.

An anthem for the opening of the Passion Week services, by Soerensen. Copied by John C. Till, early in 19th century.

latter place. In what year *New Nazareth* was equipped with a trombone choir, Reichel does not know. A set of sackbuts was imported for Hope, New Jersey, in 1789. This will account for the first four sets of trombones for sacred music, by Moravians. Probably the *second* set of trombones for Bethlehem came over before 1793, since on December 2, 1792, when the news came of the death of Bishop Spangenberg, at Bethelsdorf, the 18th of September previous, the venerable Father's death was announced from the roof of the Single Brethren's House by *two* quartettes of trombonists.

This concerns the eighteenth century. Of the later development in the nineteenth, and the appearance of the Bethlehem trombonists in orchestra under the auspices of the Musical Fund Society, much is well known. Nevertheless, a paragraph from Bishop Levering's oft-quoted history \* will not here be amiss: "The traditional trombone choir does not come into consideration in this connection [band music], for it was strictly a feature of the musical equipment of the church, as it is to-day. Its instruments have always been regarded as devoted to ecclesiastical use, even the exception to this being on occasions when hymn-tunes and, beyond these, only oratorio parts in concert or patriotic airs of dignified and hallowed associations are performed. Noble indeed has been the place and function of the trombone choirs. Their services have always been connected with inspiring and solemn religious festivities, while with their most frequent and familiar duty, calling them up to the belfry of the church at any hour of any day, to pour down in the morning or evening stillness or upon the mid-day bustle and noise of the streets, the mellow strains

\* Cf. Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 663.

of the significant three chorals, and then several days later to accompany the sequel of what those tunes from the belfry told the listener, at a new-made grave in the 'God's acre,' thoughts most holy and memories exceeding tender are associated."

## ANNOUNCEMENT OF DEATH\*

*Tune 151 A.*

## PASSION CHORALE

*O Haupt voll Blut und Wunden.*

{ 7, 8, 7, 6, 7, 6, 7, 6, Iambic. }

{ Popular Melody:

{ Hans Leo Hassler, 1601.



A pilgrim, us preceding  
 Departs unto his home,  
 The final summons heeding  
 Which soon to all must come,  
 O joy! the chain to sever  
 Which burdens pilgrims here,  
 To dwell with Christ forever,  
 Who to our souls is dear.

Translated from the Liturgy Book of 1823.

\* Fries' *Funeral Chorals of the Unitas Fratrum*.

## LITITZ AS AN EARLY MUSICAL CENTER

THE first settlement of the Moravians in Lancaster county begins with the year 1742. In that year, Count Zinzendorf, directed his attention to Pennsylvania. Believing that his visit might be rendered more profitable, if he could succeed in uniting some of these emigrated Christians, who differed in particular points of faith and practice, he set out on his tour through Pennsylvania. He neglected no opportunity to preach whenever he found an open door. From Bethlehem he proceeded through Berks county, and from there to Lancaster county, where he visited Mr. Jacob Huber of Warwick township. The same evening he addressed the assembled neighbors.

Mr. George Klein made efforts to dissuade many from hearing him. But afterward the prejudice was removed and Mr. Klein requested the Count to visit them again, or send them a minister. On his return to Bethlehem Zinzendorf sent Rev. John Jacob Lischy. Their meetings were held partly in private houses and in the Lutheran church known as St. James' church, where the Rev. Laurentius Theophilus Nyberg, a graduate of the University of Upsala, was the Lutheran minister. He finally united himself and family with the Moravian Society.

In 1745 this group applied to the Moravian Synod for an ordained minister who would live among them. As soon as Mr. Klein learned of this he offered three and three-quarter acres of land on which to erect a suitable building, that should serve the purpose of dwelling, church, and school-house. On February 9, 1748, the house was consecrated,\* and the Rev. Leonhard Schnell established there.

\* Cf. Ellis and Evans, *History of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania*, pp. 1080-1.



He opened the school with four boys and three girls.\* This house was known as the "Warwick church and school house" and stood east of the present site of Lititz. †

The historical and traditional data concerning Lititz was obtained from Abraham R. Beck, a man whose age, knowledge of music, and present activity as archivist of the Moravian congregation fully qualify him to furnish it. ‡

The first accounts of anything beyond hymnal music in the Moravian Community at Lititz date from 1765. In that year Rev. Bernhard Adam Grubé organized an orchestra among the brethren, and in 1766 the rendering of a choir piece is mentioned. Grubé, who may be considered the pioneer musician of Lancaster county, had been a missionary among the Indians of Pennsylvania before he became pastor of the Moravian church at Lititz. He was a man of varied talent and university culture, having studied at Jena, and an accomplished all-around musician playing with skill on several instruments, and with knowledge of others to instruct the likely members of the community on the various pieces of a full orchestra, as well as in the principles of harmony. The orchestra was composed mostly of the young men of the Brethren's House. The purposes of its organization were that it should supplement the music of the church and that it might give many of the brethren

\* H. A. Breckenstein, *Sketch of the Early History of Lititz, 1742-1775*.—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, ii, pp. 343-374.

† Lititz, name given by Zinzendorf in 1756, after the barony of Lititz, in Bohemia.

‡ Notes from an article prepared by Professor Herbert H. Beck of Lititz and read before the Lancaster County Historical Society. Professor Beck is a grandson of the distinguished John Beck, who, a century ago, founded at Lititz the famous Moravian school for boys. The Hon. James M. Beck, now of New York, formerly of Philadelphia, is also a grandson of the great teacher.

Handwritten musical score for an original anthem, composed for the dedication of the Bethlehem Church in 1806. The score is written on ten staves, arranged in two columns of five. The notation is in a cursive, handwritten style typical of the late 18th or early 19th century. The left column contains five staves, and the right column contains five staves. The music is written in a single system across the two columns. The notation includes various musical symbols such as clefs, notes, rests, and bar lines. The handwriting is somewhat slanted and cursive, with some ink bleed-through visible from the reverse side of the page.

An original anthem, by John G. Herbst of Lilitz. Composed for the dedication of the Bethlehem Church, 1806.

useful and pleasant occupation between the hours of work ; for the principles of the community abhorred idleness and frowned upon all light pastime such as checkers and chess. Even the simple play of fig-mill, a game played with yellow and red corn grains on a board and written "feek meel" in the archives, was absolutely forbidden. After 1768 a collection was regularly taken for the purchase of instruments and music. In 1775 a new set of trombones was received from Europe. The cost, covered by voluntary subscription, was £7, 17 sh, 6d.

The musical activities of the Lititz community were, apparently, prosecuted with thoroughness and considerable taste and skill, for the general culture of the place was high and the people took to music naturally. Among the compositions then and there practiced, which are extant in the church archives, is a series of musicianly suites named on their covers "Partien," which were scored for two oboes, two horns and a bassoon, and which seem to have afforded the players an occasional pleasant change from their usual full orchestra labors. All of this music is in beautifully copied manuscript.

Many of the instruments of this orchestra are preserved in the museum of the Lititz church. They include violin, viola, violincello, oboe, clarinet, bassoon, trumpet, *key bugle*, trombone, French horn, *ophicleide* and *serpent*—the last a curious woodwind instrument with an oxhorn mouthpiece, and so named because its lines follow exactly the conventional pictures of the embodiment of original sin as found in antique illuminated editions of the Old Testament. The serpent is called for in the scores of some of the older compositions, like Mendelssohn's *Oratorio of St. Paul*; but it seems to have been of uncertain musical value, for it was discarded by composers many years ago.

It must be understood that Mr. Beck's summary of musical growth in Lititz covers many years. It is certain that the wooden serpent was used about 1795; and it is equally certain that the keyed bugle and the ophicleide appeared before 1820, for about those dates they were used in Bethlehem. There were at Bethlehem also two brass serpents, otherwise known as Russian bassoons, built as a transition in shape toward the ophicleide. They were turned upon themselves once, like a bassoon, with a gooseneck and brass mouthpiece, and they had six finger-holes and four keys. Their tone was inexpressibly flabby, not even as satisfactory as that of the keyed bugle, which is faint praise.

- There was also at Bethlehem a zinka, a wooden trumpet with oxhorn mouthpiece and holes for six fingers. It is the soprano of the serpent, and was used about 1790. The instrument was built straight like a clarinet, but its bore was that of the keyless trumpet.

The French horns were valveless, the tones and semitones being produced by skilful manipulation of the player's fist in the bell.

The number and variety of these instruments indicate the completeness of the orchestral organization as it existed in the early days, and several of them are mute testimony to the general advancement of the Lititz community in music. To-day there is not a single performer on either the oboe or the bassoon in Lancaster county, so that, when local musicians need these important reed pieces for full orchestration, they must be imported from the larger cities.

One of the members of the orchestra, a violinist, was Tobias Hirte, an eccentric character, whom strangely enough, Rudyard Kipling has introduced into two of his stories, *Brother Square Toes* and *a Priest in Spite of Himself*,

in his book, "Rewards and Fairies." Hirte was a teacher of the boys' parochial school. There is frequent reference to this man in the archives which throws light upon his adoption by Kipling and which makes it quite clear that Hirte had an enterprising, if not irrepressible spirit, which at flood tide called upon him the rebukes of the Aufseher Collegium, the board that supervised the secular movements of the village. One entry in the archives, germane to this general subject, is worthy of quotation as being a picture of the repressive Community law and, on account of its reference to conditions as they existed in Lititz, when the wounded from Brandywine were being cared for at the improvised hospitals in the Brethren's and Sisters' Houses. The translation reads:

"May 7 (1778).\* Some of the young people—among them several of our musicians—are in the habit of indulging late into the night in merry-making at the big spring, where Tobias Hirte has laid out a special place for that purpose. Soldiers go there also. This has given the congregation and ourselves great offence! Yet what is to be done, seeing that Dr. Allison (army physician) was there too and that this place was planned partly for his sake? But Dr. Allison has respect for our congregation rules, and we may not hesitate to tell him why we are opposed to this rendezvous and ask him kindly for love of us to absent himself from it. Tobias Hirte shall be summoned to appear before the brethren of the Conference and told not to dare in the future to begin such a thing on our land—for he is given to sudden ideas of this kind—especially not without permission; and secondly, to leave the place at the spring as it now is and do nothing more to it."

\* *Church Diary.*



Coincident with the formation of the orchestra in 1765, there came to Lititz the organ-builder Tanneberger, colloquially Tanneberger, one of the earliest in this line in the Colonies. He built pipe organs for Trinity Lutheran and St. Mary's Catholic Churches in Lancaster, and many others that went to Philadelphia and elsewhere.\* He was a good musician and became a member of the orchestra.

It is probable that the Brethren's House orchestra was at its best in 1791, for it contained many of Grubé's well-trained players and it was led by George Godfrey Mueller, a most capable musician and an excellent violinist. In that year, May 29th, the Hon. John Randolph, ex-Governor of Virginia and Attorney-General of the United States, on his way to Philadelphia, stopped to pay Lititz a visit, putting up at the *Zum Anker Inn*, and expressed a desire to hear the Brethren's music. Brother Mueller was away in Lancaster at the time, but to disappoint so distinguished a guest was unthinkable, so a messenger was sent post-haste for the conductor and the complimentary concert came off in the evening.

A strong contributing factor in the character of Lititz as an early musical center was the continued elevated plane of the church music. The Moravian congregation was equipped with a good pipe organ as early as 1765 and the music of special services was always augmented by orchestral accompaniment.

Beginning with Grubé, this activity was under the supervision of a line of men who were able not only to arrange parts for an elaborated instrumentation, but frequently to add to the musical library of the church by original compositions.

\* See *supra*, pp. 177-181 for list of organs made by Tanneberger, their cost and destination.

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Such men as George Godfrey Mueller, John G. Herbst, John C. Bechler, Charles F. Kluge, Christian Schropp, Peter Wolle and others were capable musicians, who upheld good musical standards and left behind them many compositions that are of real musical merit as well as appropriateness for the religious occasions for which they were written.

The Philharmonic Society, existing between 1815 and 1845, had in the ranks many good musicians.

One of the features of the Moravian music, and one which impressed visitors with its beauty from the earliest days, was the slide-trombone quartet. This was used chiefly at the outdoor functions, such as the announcement of deaths and inauguration of special festival days from the church steeple, and at burials and Easter-morning services in the cemetery. The music of this choir was played on four slide instruments, soprano, alto, tenor and bass, the use of which in quartet combination seems to have been restricted, at least in America, to Moravian circles, for there is no record of the soprano trombone ever having been used elsewhere. The soft, blending tones which the slide action brought with it produced an effect of rare musical beauty for sacred ensemble which cannot be attained on the valve instruments that were later substituted.

The character of the Lititz community as an early musical center is but one of several features of its early life that tend to show the general culture of the place and the part it played during a long period of the county's development. The quality of a people's music is, to a high degree, the measure of their intelligence and culture, and by this token the humble village by the big limestone spring in Warwick township played an advanced role in the history of Lancaster county.



## NAIN AND FRIEDENSHUTTEN

THE missionary efforts of the Moravians to christianize the Indians has been briefly treated of elsewhere in this work,\* but a few words as to the effort at Nain and Wyalusing may be pertinent.

Early in 1757, it was proposed to carry out Zinzendorf's plan to establish a village, in the vicinity of Bethlehem for the use of the Christian Indians, which should be called Nain. The project found favor with the Indian converts, land was purchased, the buildings erected and finally on October 18, 1758, the chapel was dedicated, the village occupied by the Indian congregation, and the brief, sad history of Nain begun. †

At Wyalusing, on the upper Susquehanna, along the old Indian trail leading to Onondaga, a new village was laid out for Christian Indians in May, 1765, which received the name *Friedenshütten*—Habitation of Peace.‡ Here a spinet, constructed by Joshua, a *Mohican* Indian, aided by John Jacob Schmick, the Moravian missionary, contributed to the interest of the chapel services, and was used as an accompaniment to the singing of the *Delaware* Indian hymns. It was set up on Christmas Day, 1767.

On Christmas eve of the next year, the chapel was illuminated and the children, tapers in hand, sang:

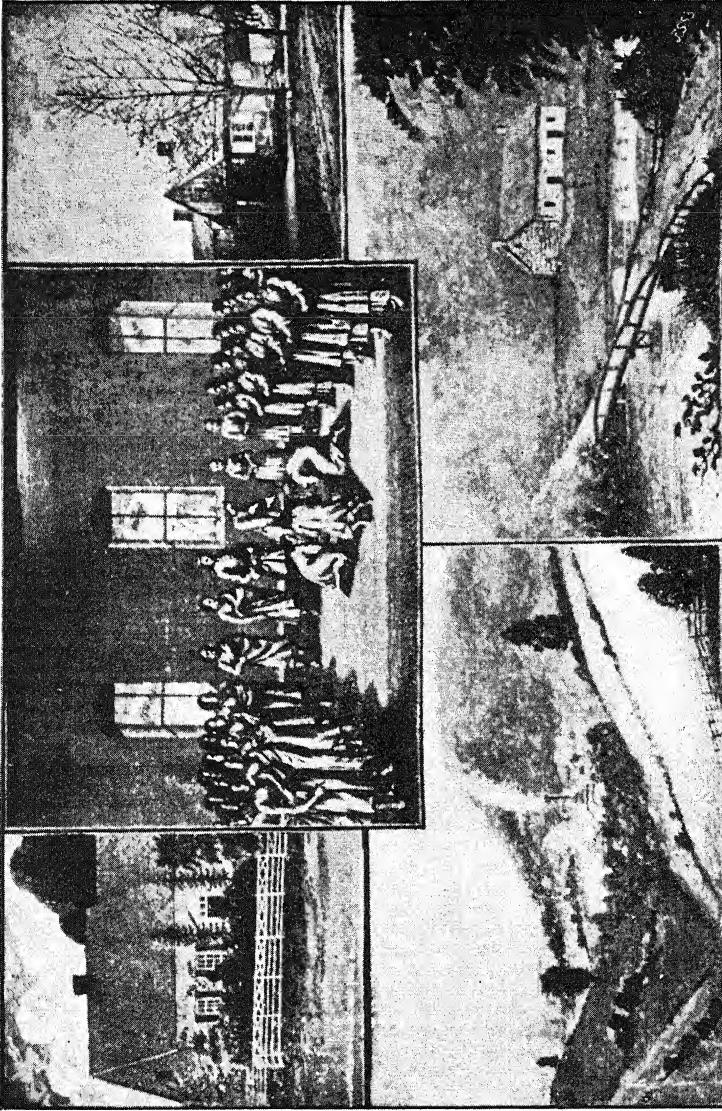
Gelobet syst du Jesu Christ,  
Dasz du Mann geworden bist. §

\* Volume 1, pp. 245-7.

† Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, pp. 258, 352, 407.

‡ Vide Rev. William C. Reichell, *Wyalusing and the Moravian Mission at Friedenshütten*.—*Transactions of the Moravian Historical Society*, vol. i, 188 et seq.

§ Rev. David Craft, *History of Bradford County, Pennsylvania*, Philadelphia, 1878, p. 21.



A Nain House.      Baptism of Indian Converts in Early Times.      The Nain Chapel.  
 Course of Indian Trail.      The Indian House West of the Monocacy.  
 Levering's *History of Bethlehem*, p. 258

COLLECTION OF HYMNS,  
FOR THE USE OF THE  
CHRISTIAN INDIANS,  
OF THE MISSIONS  
OF THE  
UNITED BRETHREN,  
IN NORTH AMERICA.  
*And Luther Spurrin, Archdeacon*

---

Philadelphia:

Printed by HENRY SWEITZER, at the corner of  
Race and Fourth Streets.

1803.

MAWUNI

NACHIGOHUMEWOAGANALL

ENDA AUWEGENK

WELSITTANGIK LENAPEWININK,

UNTSCHI

NIGASUNDEWOAGANO

ENDA

NGUTTIMACHTANGUNDINK,

LI

~~AMERICAN NEW YORK AND ALBANY~~

AMERICA.

But the mission *Friedenshütten*, like that at Nain, was only a temporary haven. In 1772 the call was again given to move on, and the one hundred and fifty-one members of the Indian congregation, accompanied by the faithful missionaries Zeisberger and Schmick, traveled westward to the Tuscarawas Valley, Ohio.

Among the outstanding Moravian contributions to Indian christianization and hymnody should be named, a translation into the Delaware language of Lieberkühn's *Harmony of the Gospels and a collection of hymns in that tongue*, the work of the Rev. Bernhard Adam Grube, while stationed at Wechquetank, and printed by the Rev. John Brandmiller at Friedensthal, prior to November, 1763. \* Also, the *Essay | of a Delaware-Indian and English | Spelling-Book, | for the | Use of the Schools | of the Christian Indians | on Muskengum River |* By David Zeisberger, | Missionary among the Western Indians. | Philadelphia. | Printed by Henry Miller 1776.† The title pages of Zeisberger's *Collection of Hymns* precede this.

One of the early undertakings of the Women's Missionary Society of the Moravian Church, perhaps the oldest female organization of this nature in the United States, was to put into print, for the use of the missions, the Delaware-Indian translation of the *Harmony of the Gospels*, completed in 1806, by that venerable servant of the church, David Zeisberger, who, after sixty-three years of labor among the Indians, entered into rest at Goshen, Ohio, November 17, 1808, in the eighty-eighth year of his age, among the "brown Brethren" for whom he had lived.

\* *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. vi, 249.

† Hildeburn, *Issues of the Pennsylvania Press, 1685-1784*, items 1897, 1898, 3499.

## MORAVIAN MISCELLANEA

BEFORE the conservatories began, before even the Boston Musical Academy and the Philadelphia Musical Fund Society were dreamed of, writes Lewis C. Elson, "there was a thorough education in music dispensed at the Moravian and other religious settlements in Pennsylvania. In Bethlehem and at Ephrata, in the eighteenth century there was constant study, and Philadelphia was at times glad to borrow musicians from the Moravians for its early festivals." The Moravian and Ephrata music undoubtedly had an effect beyond the Alleghanies and it is not impossible that it influenced the first New England composers; but this Pennsylvania German school can in itself scarcely be classed as American music. The Moravians had the first regular music schools in the country. Even the little Moravian town of Bethlehem has added to musical history in America by being the first to perform the great B-minor Mass of Bach in this country.\*

Frequent services of song—*Singstunden*—and occasional cantatas were arranged and performed to mark special observances or dedication ceremonies. In the earlier days, notably those of June tenth and eleventh, 1751, during the dedicatory services of the present venerable Old Chapel of the Community House a cantata arranged for the event was rendered by the musicians of Bethlehem.† From this time frequent are the references in public and private documents to the far-reaching influence of Moravian music.

\* Lewis C. Elson, *The History of American Music*. Revised to 1925 by Arthur Elson, p. 339 *et seq.*

† Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 255.

The opening of the new county seat at Easton led to the first recorded visit to Bethlehem by a governor of Pennsylvania. Governor Hamilton arrived on the afternoon of July 13, 1752. He was escorted to the terrace of the Brethren's House where he enjoyed the view, then into the new church where the best music Bethlehem could produce was discoursed on the organ and on wind and stringed instruments, and finally into the old chapel of the Community House where the best that the larder and cellar afforded was served; the luncheon being accompanied by the dulcet tones of an improvised orchestra of harp, violins and other instruments. The governor was much pleased with this reception.\*

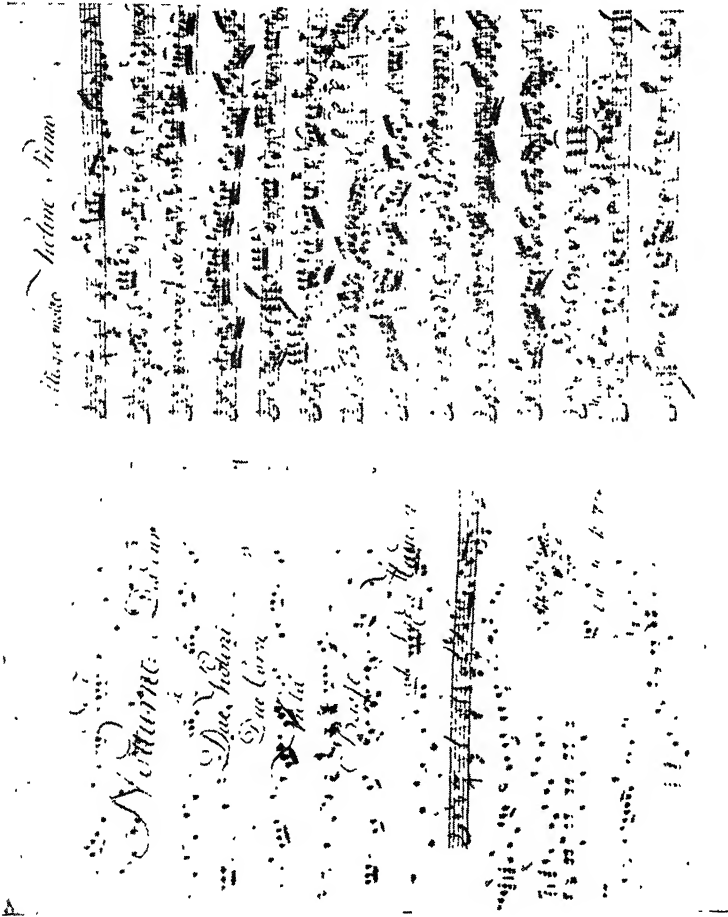
Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to his wife in 1756, says that he heard very fine music in the church; that "flutes," oboes, French-horns and trumpets accompanied the organ.

On Monday, November 8, 1756, the Second Treaty with Teedyuscung was opened at Easton.

"Late in the afternoon of the 17th, after the close of the Treaty, Governor Denny and his suite arrived at Bethlehem. Having been shown the objects of interest in the town, they visited the Indian quarters at the Manakasy. Here they were formally received by the Indians who had been drawn out in line before their dwellings. The Governor manifested gratification at the reception given him, addressed the Indians with marked friendliness, and stated his satisfaction at the arrangements in their quarters. At nine o'clock he sat down to supper, at which he was entertained with music. On the morning of the 18th, the visitors set out on their return. Brother Spangenberg conducted them as far as the ferry, passing between two lines of chil-

\* Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 267, 348.

dren and Brethren and Sisters who had been drawn out in front of his lodgings on the Square. The trombonists per-



Nocturne in E-flat by Haydn. Handwriting of John Frederick Peter, 1767.

formed from the terrace of the Single Brethren's House until the Governor and his retinue had crossed the river." \*

\* William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*.



At four o'clock of Christmas morning, 1755, the music of the trombones from the roof-terrace of the Brethren's House ushered in the "great day." There is a tradition that the notes of that Christmas morning chorale, breaking the dead silence, were wafted into the startled ears of some lurking savages on the hillside back of the Indian House who were lingering near in the hope of applying a fire brand to the buildings before daybreak; since they were determined to destroy Bethlehem. The strange, sweet sound struck fear into their hearts, so they slipped away into the woods in dread of some unearthly power guarding the town.\* Thus music may have saved the town.

Revolutionary days at Bethlehem were an ever-changing scene of anxiety and much labor. Brunswick officers † on parole, unruly Hessians, Washington, Lafayette, Pulaski, Mons. Gerard the French Minister, members of the Continental Congress, and those high in military and civil command came and went. In spite of all this, or because of it, the Community held steadfast, and work, prayer and music alternated as the diaries in the Moravian Archives attest, and a few selections therefrom illustrate:

December 17, 1776. In the Congregation House, ten or twelve of the higher officers were lodged; and in the town between five and six hundred men. In the Sun Tavern were Generals Gates, Sullivan, Stirling, Arnold, Glover

\* Levering, *op. cit.*, p. 331. *Supra*, 175.

† January 28, 1779. Thirteen Brunswick officers on parole. These Brunswickers were a lively set of fellows, and much given to music. Having an excellent harper and flutist among them, they would occasionally serenade the town people and Beckel's Hill [Market and Main Streets] was a favorite spot for their musical performances. A burlesque song and popular air with them was the *Merz Kater*. A translation of one stanza of this is given in *Bethlehem during the Revolution*, by John W. Jordan, in *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*, January, 1889.

and many other officers of rank. At dusk, Gen. Sullivan accompanied by thirty officers came to attend our meeting, which, owing to the confusion in town, was dropped. They were taken into the Chapel to hear the organ, and they were pleased with the music.

November 25, 1778. This afternoon the French Ambassador, Mons. Gerard, Don Juan de Miralles, a Spaniard, and Silas Deane, arrived from Philadelphia.

November 26, 1778. Bro. Ettwein took them to Christian's Spring and Nazareth, and in the evening they attended a concert we arranged for them.

June 15, 1779. Early this morning Lady Washington arrived from Easton in company with Gens. Sullivan, [Enoch] Poor, [William] Maxwell, and some 20 officers. After dinner Bro. Ettwein escorted Lady Washington through the large buildings, and in the evening with her suite she attended the service, Bro. Ettwein speaking in English.

September 22, 1777. Throughout the day more sick and wounded arrived, which filled up the [Brethren's] House. John Hancock and Samuel Adams with other Delegates arrived making sixteen in all here to-day. As the surgeons desired an additional building for the sick and suggested the Sisters' or Widows' House as the most suitable, Bro. Ettwein, while conducting a party of the Delegates through the former, where they had been entertained with singing and playing on the organ, took occasion to represent the distress an ejection from their homes would cause the inmates.

On May 17, 1778, Pulaski is mentioned as coming to the church with some of his staff in stately procession to attend the English preaching. He was in Bethlehem again later. Several times, when there appeared unruly troops disturbing the seclusion of the Sisters' House, this chivalrous son of Poland detailed members of his staff to guard its doors. In grateful acknowledgment of the protection afforded them their superintendent, Sister Susan von Gersdorf, suggested the making of a banner. When he fell at Savannah in October, 1779, he carried with him a hand-

some silk guidon which fluttered from the upright lance at the head of his legion. It was embroidered in the Sisters' House. The pattern was designed by Sister Rebecca Langly, a young English woman greatly celebrated for her needlework. Pulaski probably ordered the work to be done, and the Sisters declined compensation and begged him to accept it as a token of appreciation in view of his manifest concern for their safety.\* Careful examination of the diaries at Bethlehem shows no record of the presentation of the banner.†

Mr. Richard Henry Spencer, late secretary of the Maryland Historical Society of Baltimore, is authority for the statement that the Pulaski banner‡ was made by the Moravian Sisters at the order of a group of Baltimore women, which group presented the banner to the famous foreigner. The "Hymn of the Moravian Nuns" was written by Longfellow in 1825 and was suggested by a paragraph in the *North American Review*.

July 25, 1782. "After dinner we had the pleasure to welcome His Excellency Gen. Washington, who is accompanied by two aids and no escort, with our trombones. The Sisters' House was first visited, and next the Single Brethren's House, in the chapel of which the party were refreshed with cake and wine, while Bro. Jacob Van Vleck played on the organ. Brother Ettwein waited on and escorted Gen. Washington § from place to place, and also

\* Lossing, *Field Book of the Revolution*.

† Elizabeth Lehman Myers, *A Century of Moravian Sisters*, p. 55 et seq.

‡ *Pennsylvania Magazine of History*, vol. xiii, p. 82, note on General Count Pulaski and his banner.

§ On February 22, 1800, following the death of Washington, solemn memorial services were held agreeable to the proclamation of the President. There was elaborate music suitable to the occasion, and a discourse was delivered by Rev. Jacob Van Vleck. Thus Bethlehem joined in the solemn commencement made by the Nation in the observance of Washington's birthday—Levering, *History of Bethlehem*, p. 566.

kept the evening service, which was attended by the visitors. After the service the church choir entertained their guests with sacred music both vocal and instrumental.”

In an account of his travels in America, 1780–1782, Marquis de Chastellux\* who came to America with the French under Rochambeau, visited Bethlehem, December tenth, 1782, and remained over the next day. Of the “house for single women” and the occupations of the Sisters he wrote at some length. In the chapel of the house he observed besides the organ “several instruments hanging on nails.” On going to the Brethren’s House he found the chaplain or superintendent, Jacob Van Vleck, copying music and states that “he had in his room an indifferent piano forte made in Germany.” He also found him to be “not only a performer but a composer.” On the organ of that house he “played some voluntaries in which he introduced a great deal of harmony and progressions of bass.” He passed the night of July 25th at the Sun Inn, occupying the principal guest room.

The Rev. John Cosens Ogden,† one time rector of Queen’s Chapel,‡ Portsmouth, New Hampshire, in his *Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in 1799*,\* gives an excellent picture of the Church service common to the Brethren. Mr. Ogden writes:

\* *Vide* Raymond Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*, p. 12.

† Rev. John Cosens Ogden, *An Excursion into Bethlehem and Nazareth in Pennsylvania, in the Year 1799, with a Succinct History of the Society of the United Brethren, Commonly Called Moravians*. Philadelphia, 1800; 2d ed., 1805.

‡ It was at his parish church, now St. John’s, that President Washington attended on Sunday morning, November 1, 1789, during his four days’ visit to Portsmouth, when “several pieces of music were well performed by the choir.”—President Washington’s *Private Diary*, November 1, 1789; Charles W. Brewster, *Rambles About Portsmouth*, pp. 253, 259, 347.

"This evening we went to devotions at the Chapel.  
Previous to the arrival of the minister a voluntary was

*Handwritten:* No. 69  
Stacc.  
(C) Quintetti  
Due Violini  
Due Violoncelli  
Basso

*Handwritten:* 1. 2. 3. 4. 5. 6. 7. 8. 9. 10. 11. 12. 13. 14. 15. 16. 17. 18. 19. 20. 21. 22. 23. 24. 25. 26. 27. 28. 29. 30. 31. 32. 33. 34. 35. 36. 37. 38. 39. 40. 41. 42. 43. 44. 45. 46. 47. 48. 49. 50. 51. 52. 53. 54. 55. 56. 57. 58. 59. 60. 61. 62. 63. 64. 65. 66. 67. 68. 69. 70. 71. 72. 73. 74. 75. 76. 77. 78. 79. 80. 81. 82. 83. 84. 85. 86. 87. 88. 89. 90. 91. 92. 93. 94. 95. 96. 97. 98. 99. 100. 101. 102. 103. 104. 105. 106. 107. 108. 109. 110. 111. 112. 113. 114. 115. 116. 117. 118. 119. 120. 121. 122. 123. 124. 125. 126. 127. 128. 129. 130. 131. 132. 133. 134. 135. 136. 137. 138. 139. 140. 141. 142. 143. 144. 145. 146. 147. 148. 149. 150. 151. 152. 153. 154. 155. 156. 157. 158. 159. 160. 161. 162. 163. 164. 165. 166. 167. 168. 169. 170. 171. 172. 173. 174. 175. 176. 177. 178. 179. 180. 181. 182. 183. 184. 185. 186. 187. 188. 189. 190. 191. 192. 193. 194. 195. 196. 197. 198. 199. 200. 201. 202. 203. 204. 205. 206. 207. 208. 209. 210. 211. 212. 213. 214. 215. 216. 217. 218. 219. 220. 221. 222. 223. 224. 225. 226. 227. 228. 229. 230. 231. 232. 233. 234. 235. 236. 237. 238. 239. 240. 241. 242. 243. 244. 245. 246. 247. 248. 249. 250. 251. 252. 253. 254. 255. 256. 257. 258. 259. 260. 261. 262. 263. 264. 265. 266. 267. 268. 269. 270. 271. 272. 273. 274. 275. 276. 277. 278. 279. 280. 281. 282. 283. 284. 285. 286. 287. 288. 289. 290. 291. 292. 293. 294. 295. 296. 297. 298. 299. 300. 301. 302. 303. 304. 305. 306. 307. 308. 309. 310. 311. 312. 313. 314. 315. 316. 317. 318. 319. 320. 321. 322. 323. 324. 325. 326. 327. 328. 329. 330. 331. 332. 333. 334. 335. 336. 337. 338. 339. 340. 341. 342. 343. 344. 345. 346. 347. 348. 349. 350. 351. 352. 353. 354. 355. 356. 357. 358. 359. 360. 361. 362. 363. 364. 365. 366. 367. 368. 369. 370. 371. 372. 373. 374. 375. 376. 377. 378. 379. 380. 381. 382. 383. 384. 385. 386. 387. 388. 389. 390. 391. 392. 393. 394. 395. 396. 397. 398. 399. 400. 401. 402. 403. 404. 405. 406. 407. 408. 409. 410. 411. 412. 413. 414. 415. 416. 417. 418. 419. 420. 421. 422. 423. 424. 425. 426. 427. 428. 429. 430. 431. 432. 433. 434. 435. 436. 437. 438. 439. 440. 441. 442. 443. 444. 445. 446. 447. 448. 449. 450. 451. 452. 453. 454. 455. 456. 457. 458. 459. 460. 461. 462. 463. 464. 465. 466. 467. 468. 469. 470. 471. 472. 473. 474. 475. 476. 477. 478. 479. 480. 481. 482. 483. 484. 485. 486. 487. 488. 489. 490. 491. 492. 493. 494. 495. 496. 497. 498. 499. 500. 501. 502. 503. 504. 505. 506. 507. 508. 509. 510. 511. 512. 513. 514. 515. 516. 517. 518. 519. 520. 521. 522. 523. 524. 525. 526. 527. 528. 529. 530. 531. 532. 533. 534. 535. 536. 537. 538. 539. 540. 541. 542. 543. 544. 545. 546. 547. 548. 549. 550. 551. 552. 553. 554. 555. 556. 557. 558. 559. 560. 561. 562. 563. 564. 565. 566. 567. 568. 569. 570. 571. 572. 573. 574. 575. 576. 577. 578. 579. 580. 581. 582. 583. 584. 585. 586. 587. 588. 589. 590. 591. 592. 593. 594. 595. 596. 597. 598. 599. 600. 601. 602. 603. 604. 605. 606. 607. 608. 609. 610. 611. 612. 613. 614. 615. 616. 617. 618. 619. 620. 621. 622. 623. 624. 625. 626. 627. 628. 629. 630. 631. 632. 633. 634. 635. 636. 637. 638. 639. 640. 641. 642. 643. 644. 645. 646. 647. 648. 649. 650. 651. 652. 653. 654. 655. 656. 657. 658. 659. 660. 661. 662. 663. 664. 665. 666. 667. 668. 669. 670. 671. 672. 673. 674. 675. 676. 677. 678. 679. 680. 681. 682. 683. 684. 685. 686. 687. 688. 689. 690. 691. 692. 693. 694. 695. 696. 697. 698. 699. 700. 701. 702. 703. 704. 705. 706. 707. 708. 709. 710. 711. 712. 713. 714. 715. 716. 717. 718. 719. 720. 721. 722. 723. 724. 725. 726. 727. 728. 729. 730. 731. 732. 733. 734. 735. 736. 737. 738. 739. 740. 741. 742. 743. 744. 745. 746. 747. 748. 749. 750. 751. 752. 753. 754. 755. 756. 757. 758. 759. 760. 761. 762. 763. 764. 765. 766. 767. 768. 769. 770. 771. 772. 773. 774. 775. 776. 777. 778. 779. 780. 781. 782. 783. 784. 785. 786. 787. 788. 789. 790. 791. 792. 793. 794. 795. 796. 797. 798. 799. 800. 801. 802. 803. 804. 805. 806. 807. 808. 809. 810. 811. 812. 813. 814. 815. 816. 817. 818. 819. 820. 821. 822. 823. 824. 825. 826. 827. 828. 829. 830. 831. 832. 833. 834. 835. 836. 837. 838. 839. 840. 841. 842. 843. 844. 845. 846. 847. 848. 849. 850. 851. 852. 853. 854. 855. 856. 857. 858. 859. 860. 861. 862. 863. 864. 865. 866. 867. 868. 869. 870. 871. 872. 873. 874. 875. 876. 877. 878. 879. 880. 881. 882. 883. 884. 885. 886. 887. 888. 889. 890. 891. 892. 893. 894. 895. 896. 897. 898. 899. 900. 901. 902. 903. 904. 905. 906. 907. 908. 909. 910. 911. 912. 913. 914. 915. 916. 917. 918. 919. 920. 921. 922. 923. 924. 925. 926. 927. 928. 929. 930. 931. 932. 933. 934. 935. 936. 937. 938. 939. 940. 941. 942. 943. 944. 945. 946. 947. 948. 949. 950. 951. 952. 953. 954. 955. 956. 957. 958. 959. 960. 961. 962. 963. 964. 965. 966. 967. 968. 969. 970. 971. 972. 973. 974. 975. 976. 977. 978. 979. 980. 981. 982. 983. 984. 985. 986. 987. 988. 989. 990. 991. 992. 993. 994. 995. 996. 997. 998. 999. 1000.

Quintettes of John Frederick Peter. Composed at Bethlehem, 1789  
From the Music Archives of the Moravian Church at Bethlehem

played upon the organ ; while this was doing the Bishop came and took his seat under the gallery, at the head of a number of elderly men, some of whom had been mission-

aries. This appeared to be the only seat of distinction for him and the clergy. We were placed as strangers on a similar seat, next the wall, on the right-hand side of the minister. One-half of this Chapel is devoted to men and the other to women. Each choir or fraternity and sisterhood sit together. The children, both boys and girls, are placed in the seats in front of their respective sexes. The minister upon reaching his seat near a table, opposite the middle aisle, gave out a Psalm in German, line by line, which was sung by the whole congregation. He then read a chapter in German, out of the Gospel, and a second hymn was sung accompanied by the whole congregation and the organ, then the assembly was dismissed with a benediction. The whole congregation stood while the minister left the Chapel. He was followed by the Bishop and other old men, and then the congregation at large, the men passing out at one door and the women at another. The gravity, decorum and melody in this place are more easily imagined than described.

“On Sunday I attended divine worship in the Chapel and had an opportunity carefully to observe the mode of worship. Divine service began at nine o’clock. The members of the Society and different choirs were present and in their respective seats. According to an universal practice, the organist played a voluntary previous to the arrival of the minister. The service opened with their Church Litany. This compendium of devotion is not unlike that of the English Church, but bears a greater affinity to the Lutheran. It is composed of short sentences, versicles and responses read or sung alternately by the minister and congregation, the responses made with the aid of the organ and singers.

“The congregation appeared in plain habits, the min-

ister in his accustomed garb—without gown, robe or surplice. The women were generally dressed in white, and different-colored badges distinguished the respective orders or choirs. All of them wear a white cap, and under the chin a ribbon. That of the widows is white, of married women blue, and the single sisters pink. After the celebration of this litany, the congregation retired for the space of an half hour, when the bell was rung, which was the signal for the attendance of the children and schools upon a service in English. This was introduced by the organ and a psalm, followed by a sermon and succeeded by another psalm.

“From these scenes we passed into the house devoted to the single sisters. One of them being called to attend us, we saw their habitation. They have rooms in this ‘Sisters’ House’ of about twenty feet square, in which six or eight women make their residence by day. The employments of spinning, reeling of cotton, embroidery, painting and schooling are in separate rooms. In the needle work, they excel in figure and shades, both with silk and cotton. The chapel of this choir has an organ and several pieces of instrumental music, which are played upon by the ‘Sisterhood’ at their devotions. In almost every room we saw some musical instrument, organ, harpsichord or pianoforte. These are in many private families in the settlements and villages.”

From the very earliest period at Bethlehem, as elsewhere stated, special effort was made to cultivate musical talent among the young. No charge was made for such instruction to the girls of the community at the boarding school and the Sisters House, or, to the boys at the Single Brothers House at Bethlehem, or at Nazareth. In June, 1742, the Countess Benigna von Zinzendorf, who had pre-

viously started a small school at Germantown, removed her establishment to Bethlehem and was domiciled in the already crowded Gemein Haus. This was the beginning of the famous Moravian School for Young Ladies, the first in the Colonies, from which has developed the Moravian Seminary and College for Women.

On November 1, 1756, at the time of special anxiety because of expected Indian depredations, the school examinations took place, so the diaries relate, as in normal times. One hundred and ninety-nine boys and girls were assembled in the present Old Chapel for the usual scholastic tests and a programme of vocal and instrumental music was furnished by the classes under John Andrew Albrecht, then the principal teacher and leader of music. When in June, three years later, the boys' school was transferred to Nazareth, an orchestra of boys under the direction of Albrecht led the youthful procession along the Nazareth road.\*

Letters, as well as the diaries, fully attest the scope of music in the daily lives of the pupils of these schools. Excerpts from several here follow. The first is from a girl of twelve years of the Bethlehem school to her brother, then attending an academy in Connecticut, bearing date August 16, 1787:

There are about thirty little girls of my age. Here I am taught music both vocal and instrumental. I play the guitar twice a day; am taught the spinet and forte-piano, and sometimes I play the piano.

Speaking of the church services of the Moravians, she wrote:

\* Supra, 185.



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A "Journal of Daily Events," kept by some of the younger scholars has this entry :

July 10, 1788. Mr. Grube being from home, we had no singing school. During the hour Sister Sulamith entertained us sweetly with her guitar. The new spinet arrived from Philadelphia and misses from the first and second rooms went to Mr. Huebner's to hear it.

In an account of "a day set apart for the improvement of children" one of the older scholars relates, under August seventeenth of the same year, that

Early in the morning we were awakened by the sound of the guitar, accompanied by the voices of our tutoresses singing congratulatory hymns on the dawn of this festive day. At six the trombones from the balcony of the Brethren's House proclaimed our festival. At seven we assembled in the hall for morning prayer.\*

In 1792, as shown in the *History of the Moravian Seminary* there is a charge of "£7-10sh for repairing and tuning the seven pianos and clavichords in the Boarding School." An invoice of music imported from Holland in the same year lists :

7 sonatas by Haydn, pour le clavecin.  
14 variations by Vanhal, pour le clavecin.  
6 sonatas by Hoffmeister, pour le clavecin.  
Concerto by Hoffmeister, pour le clavecin.  
Concerto à quatre mains, by Giordani.  
Haydn's sonatas à quatre mains.

On June 25th, 1792, Bethlehem, celebrated with high festivities the fiftieth anniversary of the organization of the settlement. A festal eve service of humble confession, fervent prayer, and grateful praise was held the previous

\* Cf. Walters, *The Bethlehem Bach Choir*. Chapter I.

evening. At six o'clock in the morning the trombonists stationed on the roof terrace of the Brethren's House ushered in the festival with stirring chorales. At half-past eight the people gathered for morning prayer. At ten o'clock an historical sketch of Bethlehem and several original poems were read. There was a love feast at three o'clock. Holy communion at seven o'clock, and after that the day was closed with evening prayer around a pyramid of light in the square in front of the bell-turret house or old seminary. The houses were illuminated. The thought was impressed anew that Bethlehem had been founded to the glory of God and had been preserved through tribulation and peril by His mighty hand for a further mission in His Name.\*

The Diaries of the Society, kept since 1742, and written with considerable minuteness by the successive officiating ministers, giving something of church affairs from day to day, have but meager accounts of the participation of Bethlehem ministers and musicians in the consecration of churches at various points.

On August 15, 1790, there is mention of such a church dedication in the Drylands, between Bethlehem and Nazareth.

Again, on March 24, 1793, the dedication of the *Frieden's Kirche* in Saucon is mentioned. The Rev. Augustus Klingsohr and a number of Bethlehem musicians participated.

September 4, 1796, the musicians of Bethlehem, Nazareth and Emmaus were present at the dedication of the Lutheran church in Allentown, and on October 15, 1797, Klingsohr and the musicians helped dedicate a new church in Whitehall Township.\*

\* Cf. Levering, *op. cit.*, pp. 537, 563.

The Bishops of the Church were nearly all musicians and its ministers, particularly at Bethlehem and Lititz, frequently played the first violin in the orchestra performances either in church music or concert. One was distinct from the other.\*

In the church service, the minister generally commenced the singing of a hymn without announcing the words, and the organist and congregation were expected to join as promptly as words and tune could be distinguished.†

The following bit of local history may have a touch of interest for the antiquarian: An old spinet, which had come into the possession of Miss Rosalie Tiers, of Philadelphia, from her aunt Mary Eyre, who at one time owned and lived in the building at Bethlehem, known as the First Moravian Store, and who married Colonel Lewis Downey, one of the principal chiefs of the Cherokee Nation, American Indians, both now deceased, was sold at public vendue at the Bethlehem Sisters' House, June 19, 1873, on which was the following inscription: "The maker of this clavicorde is Christian Gottlieb Frederic, Counsellor of the Chambre of and at Gera, in Saxony, in the month of March, and year of Grace 1791." Joseph Cole bought the spinet for five cents and sold it to William W. Yohe for five dollars.‡

\* John Hill Martin, *Sketches of Moravian History at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania, from Notes of Rufus A. Grider of the Sun Hotel, et al.*, 1866, p. 90.

† Cf. Rufus A. Grider, *Historical Notes on Music in Bethlehem, Philadelphia*, 1873. See Appendix, 3.

‡ From a small manuscript note-book of John Hill Martin, author of *Sketches of Bethlehem and the Moravians*, in the possession of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania.

## MORAVIAN HYMN-BOOKS AND HYMNODISTS

THE Ancient Unitas Fratrum was the first among the Protestant churches to publish a hymn book. It was issued at Jungbunzlau in 1501. Of its eighty-nine Bohemian hymns, at least fifteen were composed by Bishops Matthias of Kunwald and Luke of Prague. A copy of this has recently been discovered in the Bohemian Museum of Prague.\* The edition of 1505, issued at Jungbunzlau, had, up to this discovery, been considered the first. It contained paraphrases and translations of old Latin hymns† together with many original compositions, mostly by John Hus and Bishop Luke, the latter being its editor. It was republished in revised form, in 1540, at Prague, Bishop Horn being its then editor and Paul Severin its printer.

Out of the edition of 1501 grew the German Hymnal, *Ein New Gesangbüchlen*, edited by Michael Weiss,‡ published at Jungbunzlau in 1531, and republished at Ulm, in 1535, 1538 and 1539. Bishop de Schweinitz gives the following translation of its title: "1523. The Truth produces hatred. A new Hymn-book. 1531. O come, let us sing unto the Lord; let us make a joyful noise to the rock of our salvation. Ps. 95. The Truth conquers." §

The Unitas Fratrum published its first Polish hymn-

\* Preface to *The Liturgy and the Offices of Worship and Hymns of the American Province of the Unitas Fratrum or the American Church*. Bethlehem, 1908.

† Cf. Catherine Winkworth, *Christian Singers of Germany*. J. B. Lippincott Co. Philadelphia, 1869.

‡ This hymnal contained many of Weiss' translations of old Bohemian hymns as well as those of his own composition. Luther said of him that he was an excellent German poet. His funeral hymn: *Nun lasst uns den Leib begraben*—Now lay we calmly in the Grave—is among his best remembered. He died in 1534 at Landskron, one of the centers of Bohemian activity.

§ Cf. de Schweinitz, *History of the Unitas Fratrum*. Chapter xxxvii, p. 394 *et seq.*

book in 1554. This, and the German edition of 1544 by Horn, *Ein Gesangbuch der Brüder in Behemen und Merherrn*,\* were revised in 1561, 1566 and 1569 respectively. The tunes, printed above the hymns, were partly Gregorian, partly German, and partly original. But few copies of these hymnals survived the destructive Anti-Reformation.†

The Renewed Church published its first hymn book in 1735. ‡ The next in two parts was issued at London; the first in 1753, the second in 1755. This is generally known as the *London Hymn Book*. The Gregor collection was printed in 1778 and the corresponding but separate tune book, in 1784, entitled: *Choral Buch, enthaltend alle zu dem Gesangbuche der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen vom Jahre 1778, gehorige Melodien*: Leipzig, 1784.

The first regularly adopted hymn book of the American churches is dated 1813, and the earliest American tune book, that by Bishop Peter Wollé, is of still later date.

The *Hymn Book* of Christian Gregor, § was a companion to Spangenberg's *Idea Fidei Fratrum*. The author, the widely known musical composer and later bishop of the church, became a member of the Unitas Fratrum in his twentieth year, and in his music and his hymns combined and embodied the idea of the Community. His Hymn

\* This edition contained 149 hymns by Michael Weiss and 32 hymns added by Bishop Horn. Cf. Seipt *op. cit.*, p. 59.

† de Schweinitz, Preface to *American Hymn Book*, 1876.

‡ Soon after the resuscitation at Herrnhut several collections of hymns were published by Count Zinzendorf, many of his own production. These, however, are not ranked as Hymn Books of the Church.—Preface to *The Liturgy and the Offices of Worship and Hymns of the American Province*. Bethlehem, 1908.

§ *Transactions Moravian Historical Society*, Vol. I.

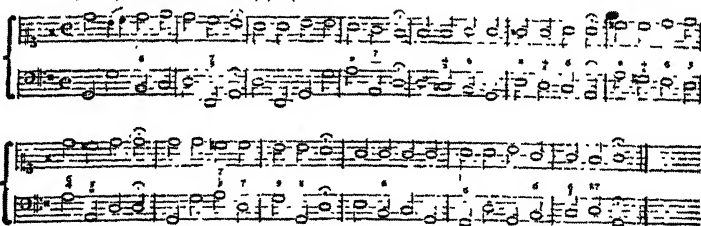
**Choral-Buch,**  
 enthaltend  
 alle zu dem Gesangbuche *Nobert Greis*  
 der Evangelischen Brüder-Gemeinen.  
 vom Jahre 1778  
 gehörige Melodien.



Zu finden in den Brüder-Gemeinen,  
 und gedruckt zu Leipzig  
 in der Breitkopfischen Buchhandlung, 1784.

60

Nrt 82. c) Wer die Worte Wahrheit sind ic.



Nrt 82. d) Vorges, auf eine andre Weis.



Title-page and two tunes from Gregor's Choral-Book of 1784

Book supplied a pressing want. The Unity had had its own hymn book since 1735. Zinzendorf's appeared in 1742-3. It was, however, much more a historical collection than a serviceable hymn book. A new hymnal was needed, and that of Gregor was so excellent that it served for over a century.

Burkhardt, in his *Brudergemeinde*, says that "Gregor added to the Brethren's own hymns, many belonging to the storehouse of Evangelical Christianity, after the mode of the old book of 1735. The whole collection was massed into sixty groups, with reference to the festivals of the Christian year and the needs of the religious life.

"Its year of publication was 1778, and a tune book by the same author followed in 1784. Both were treasured in the congregations, and by the *Diaspora* from generation to generation."

"The tunes," adds Ritter,\* "were set in the tenor cleff and written in semibreves, and figured for thorough bass. They are the productions of the best masters, and are religious emanations from the very *soul* of the *science* of music."

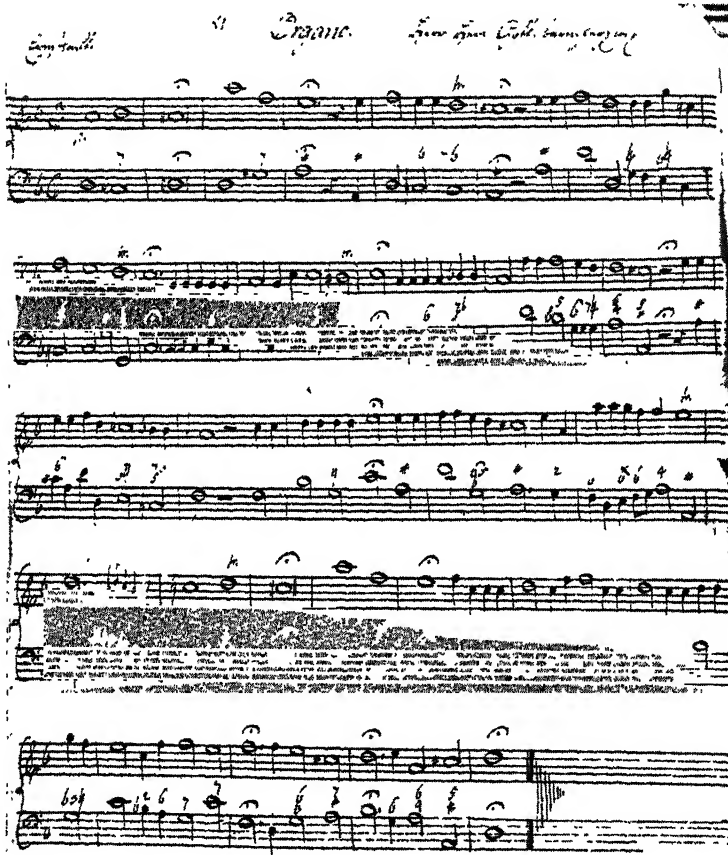
They were not named, but numbered, and 9, 10, 15, 22, 26, or any other number in the tune book, was as familiar to the organist as Meer, Hotham, or any other cognomen to modern productions.

But they were also set to particular hymns, and the first line of any one of them, was sufficient indication of the melody to follow.

To this the congregations were educated by practice, aided by a strict adhesion to their own tunes, so that in

\* Abraham Ritter, *History of the Moravian Church in Philadelphia. From its Foundation in 1742 to the Present Time.* Philadelphia, 1857.

Labrador, or Ireland, a Moravian would know his immediate brethren, in a church service, although till then a "stranger in a strange land."



An anthem for the close of the year, by Gregor. Composed 1784 and still used.

In 1770, as a result of the Synod of 1769, the Reverends Christian Gregor, John Lorentz and John Christian



Alexander de Schweinitz, were commissioners to visit the American congregations. In 1792, Gregor was a leading bishop and Berthelsdorf was the seat of the Unity's administration board. On November 6, 1801, Bishop Gregor suddenly passed away, overtaken by a stroke at the door of his dwelling.

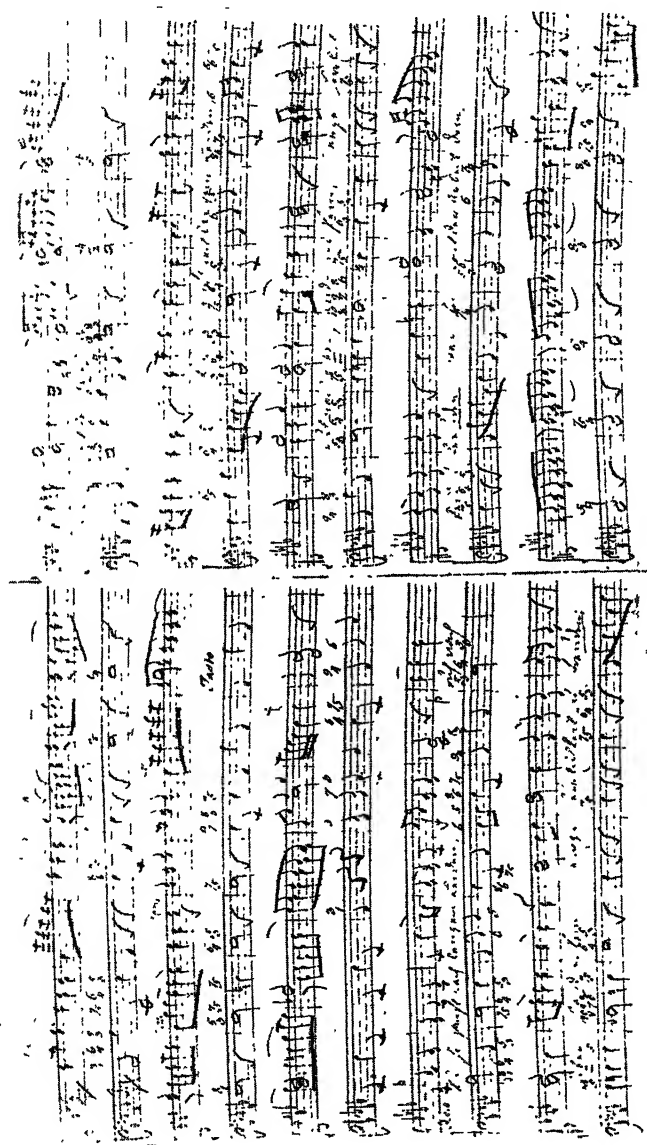
The Rev. Christian Ignatius La Trobe, who supervised a new edition of the Gregor *Collection*, quotes from its Preface as follows: "The Rev. Mr. Gregor observes, in the Preface to his Tune-Book: 'That in the earliest ages of the Church of the Brethren the practice of singing hymns was held in high estimation; and that, to this present day, a great part of their daily worship consists in singing.' 'Nothing,' he adds, 'is more calculated to impress the mind with devotion than to hear a congregation engaged in the worship of the Lord, singing and making melody unto Him, instrumental music, and especially the organ, uniting with and supporting the voices of the people. Whoever has heard it, and experienced the truth of this assertion, cannot but wish, that this gift of God bestowed upon us, and so conducive to general edification, may be preserved without diminution in all our congregations, and that, scattered as we are in all parts of the world, we may, nevertheless, in this part of our worship' also be perfectly uniform.

'The excellence of congregational singing consists in this: that though all join, yet none seek to outvie the rest. By bringing each voice to the level of the whole, a sweet yet powerful confluence of harmony is created. But whoever leads the song should sing so distinctly that the words of the hymn may be heard, which cannot be expected from the whole congregation. Both the minister and the congregation should likewise take due notice of the contents of the hymn or verse to be sung, and regulate the

cheerfulness or solemnity of their voices accordingly. Whenever one metre has several Tunes, care must be taken in the choice of them, that the strain of the Tune may be suited to the sense of the hymn. Tunes, that have hitherto been unknown to the congregation, may be introduced, either by being at first repeatedly sung by the choir, or played, previous to the opening of the service, in lieu of the usual prelude, by which the congregation becomes insensibly acquainted with them." \*

Mr. La Trobe then outlines his own views on church music in his *Introduction*, which well deserves the attention of every young organist: Yet whatever attention may be paid to "these and many other valuable rules for singing (too numerous to be inserted here) the natural imbecility of the human voice is such, that few can keep to the pitch in which a tune is begun, especially in long hymns, or during a succession of many verses. Consequently the congregation, as experience shows, gradually sinking its voice, yea, the voice of each individual sinks in a different degree, so that the longer the singing lasts, the more grievous the dissonance is rendered. To remedy this imperfection a *support* is wanting, calculated to give the singing the firmness, so indispensably necessary towards producing the above-mentioned pleasing effect. This support is justly expected from the assistance of *instrumental music*, for the firmest and most powerful voice of the Precentor is borne down by: the weight of the sinking multitude. Instrumental music, therefore, if thus applied, being not improper in the house of God (having been once appointed, and never forbidden), organs were introduced into the church and are undoubt-

\* Christian Ignatius La Trobe, *Hymn-Tunes sung in the Church of the United Brethren*. London, n. d.



An anthem, by C. I. LaTrobe, composed 1792, for Good Friday. Still in use. Handwriting of this copy unknown, though possibly that of John Frederick Peter.

edly of all instruments best adapted to answer the above purpose. But, in order to obtain the true and beneficial effect of the organ, it is required, that the organist should enter into the spirit of his office, and become actuated by the same principle that every other servant in the house of God is taught to act from. Without this, he not only neglects his call but betrays his trust. There is scarcely a person in the church, who more easily exposes his inattention, and want of true devotion, than the organist; nor is it to be wondered at that sincere and devout people, for want of discernment, or not seeing an amendment easily effected, conceive a musical instrument *improper* in the church, because they have never heard it *properly* used.\* \* \*

“Every musician, possessed of sound musical taste and judgment, will readily acknowledge, that *simplicity* is a grand source of beauty in church-music; and yet superior genius seems required to be conscious of its powers, and willing to follow its dictates; such is the prevalence of depravity.

“But there is still something of far greater importance than our taste and judgment, that determines the real degree of excellence in church-music: this is nothing less than the blessing of God conveyed unto us through the means He deigns to employ. If, when we sing unto Him, we feel His divine presence with us, hearing our prayers, accepting our praises, and that our hearts are enlivened and comforted by the contemplation of his mercies, then and not otherwise, both singing and playing become sanctified unto us; and Tunes that appear, perhaps, to have but little musical merit to gratify the cravings of a fastidious appetite, will convey the purest and most devout sensations to the hearts of the hearers; yea even, when only repeated upon an instrument will recall in their minds an

after-taste of the blessings conveyed unto them by the words of the hymns to which they were adapted. An organist duly impressed with this idea, would think himself highly blameable if, by the interspersion of his often very heterogeneous decorations, he should destroy this great design. He will even, by the whole tenor of his prelude, suited to the solemnity of the occasion, endeavor to prepare the minds of the assembly for the ensuing service, carefully avoiding every strain that might produce a contrary effect. Such an organist, possessed of but few powers as to execution, can be of more real service to the church of Christ, than the most skilful professor destitute of the above principles.

The tunes of the hymns of the Brethren are mostly ancient, the greater part being common to them and other Protestant churches. They ought to be sung and played in their native simplicity, many having attained to too great an age to appear to any advantage in a new-fashioned dress. Others are of later date, yet little deviating from the style and simplicity of the former. . . .” \*

“Cheerfulness,” says Bishop Taylor, “and a festival spirit fill the soul full of harmony; it composes music for churches; it makes and publishes glorification of God; it produces thankfulness and serves the end of charity; and when the oil of gladness runs over, it makes tall and bright emissions of light and holy fires reaching up to a cloud and making joy round about; and therefore since it is so innocent and may be so pious and full of holy advantage, whatsoever can innocently minister to this holy joy, does set forward the work of religion and charity.”

Christian Ignatius La Trobe, 1758-1836, was the

\* La Trobe, *op. cit.*

"Secretary to the Unity of the Brethren in England and to the Brethren's Missions from 1787 to the time of his decease. . . . His own compositions for the church and chamber are less known than they deserve to be. In all the marks of real genius—originality of thought, simple, graceful and felicitous expression and variety of style, skillfully and tastefully adapted to the subject in hand—many of them are but little inferior to the productions of the greatest masters of the ages gone by. . . . By the publication of the original edition of his Tune Book in which he inserted a number of his own valuable compositions,\* he rendered an important service to the congregation in Great Britain and the British Colonies."

In treating of German hymnody, Hausmann says that "The Mennonites, like the Puritans and other brother sects, at once find a haven to welcome them; they settle down and are henceforth interesting only as a sect among many sects. But the Moravian still looks forward to his *Gnadenhütten*; not to seek refuge, not to find a home, not to find peace, does he come to America but to seek hardships, to find his enemies, to convert the Indians.†

"The activity of the Moravians is many-sided and the inquiry into their career is a fruitful theme for the historian. I shall, however, touch but upon one chord, the literary, or rather the hymnological activity of the *Unitas Fratrum*. The conditions under which some of the Moravian hymns originate are often most tragic.

\*La Trobe, *Anthems of the United Brethren*. Many of Gregor's anthems and some of Grimm's can be here found.

†William A. Hausmann, *German-American Hymnology, 1683-1800*. A Dissertation submitted to the Philosophical Faculty of Johns Hopkins University for the Degree of Doctor of Philosophy, 1895.

Handwritten musical score for an anthem, featuring multiple staves with notes, rests, and lyrics. The score is written in a cursive hand typical of the 18th century. The lyrics are in Latin and include phrases like "Gloria in excelsis Deo", "Et tu solus Sanctus", "Et tu solus Dominus", "Et tu solus Agnus Dei", and "Et tu solus Rex". The score is divided into two systems, each with five staves. The first system starts with a treble clef and a key signature of one flat. The second system starts with a bass clef and a key signature of one flat. The score is written on aged, slightly discolored paper.

An anthem by an unknown composer, for the opening of the Passion Week services. Still used.

"In Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology* we find brief accounts of the life and writings of several of the German American hymnologists which the Moravians may claim. Among others occur the names of such men as Zinzendorf, Spangenberg and Heyl [Hehl\*], very prominent personages in the history of the Moravian Church. Also the name of Anna Nitschmann, later the second wife of Zinzendorf. By far the most interesting name mentioned is, of course, Zinzendorf. Judging from the wonderful activity of Zinzendorf's muse—he being the author of over two thousand hymns—we might expect his pen to be as active across the water as at home. Such was actually the case, and though the hymns written in Pennsylvania may not transcend the average ability of the poet and perhaps hardly pass for hymnology at all, yet they are in a certain sense very important and very suggestive, for, as must be emphasized again and again, they speak a history. There is an atmosphere of adventure, of romanticism enshrouding these productions which renders them very attractive despite their stylistic nonchalance. The following † hymn, which I take from Reichel's *Memorials*, was composed by Count Zinzendorf, August 1, 1742, in *Sickihillehocken*: \* \* \*

"I cite two verses from another of these poetic effusions of the Count, which is to be found in Reichel's *Memor-*

\* Rt. Rev. Matthew Hehl, who died at Lititz, Pennsylvania, December 4, 1787. He had a rare gift for music, and was an excellent hymn-writer.

† Sickihillehocken, on the west bank of the Schuylkill, Philadelphia County. There are eighteen verses of this poem of which but one is here given:

Hier schrieb ich einen Brief,  
Als alles um mich schlief,  
In der finstern Wüsten  
*Sickihillehocken*  
Wo wenig Vöglein nisten,  
Wird ich doch kaum inn'  
Dasz die *Schuylkill* rinn  
Ueber Nachbar *Green*.



*ials*, who also supplies the situation 'while thus in daily danger of his life on the Shawnee Flats of the Wyoming valley,'\* Zinzendorf was engaged in the preparation of Supplements XI and XII to the collection of hymns at that time in use among the Brethren. . . . From this collection the following hymn [entitled *Wyomik im Nov. 1742*] was taken.

Dort in der Fläche *Wajomik*  
Auf einem wüsten Ackerstück,  
Da Blaseschlangen nisteten  
Und ihre Bälge brüsteten,—

Auf einem Silbererznen Grund,  
Wo's Leibes Leben miszlich stund,  
Da dachten wir;—Wir sähen gern,  
Das würd eine Stadt des Herrn.

—*Supplement*, xii, No. 1902.''

The first "poem is replete with the mystical and pietistic elements peculiar to Zinzendorf, but to the student of German-American history it will I think appeal very strongly were it but for its naiveté and the charm of the situation.

"We picture to ourselves the Count in a wilderness at midnight with but one or two of his brethren and Conrad Weiser the faithful Indian guide attending him, liable at any moment to be attacked by hostile Indians and in this most unenviable situation writing a long hymn of eighteen stanzas.

"To save space it is necessary to limit the selections to the hymns here given. These two will, however, suffice to point out the manner by which the study of Moravian hymnology may be made interesting; the origin of the hymns being in many instances most intimately connected with historical events. This point might be still further pressed by

\* William C. Reichel, *Memorials of the Moravian Church*. Philadelphia, 1870, p. 39, *et seq.*; 114.

comparing the hymnological productions of the different sects such as the Mennonites, the Dunkers and the Moravians. Taking for example the hymns of Kelpius, Dock and Beissel, it would be found that they might have been written in Germany quite as well as in America; they are so exclusively subjective, and do not in the least reflect surrounding nature, neither land nor people of the New World.

"The hymns of Zinzendorf on the other hand make up abundantly for such one-sidedness; everything is depicted with extreme minuteness: the dreary desert Sickihillehocken, where few birds nest, the Schuylkill near by, dragging along its lazy waters, Penn's bushes, the poor peasant, Indian territory, the sources of the Susquehanna, even the *Blase schlangen* are not wanting. Pennsylvania of one hundred and fifty years ago is reflected in the hymns of the Count with a faithfulness, a minuteness and realism which our modern realists might envy. Add to this the element of missionary zeal and piety and it would seem as though the spirit of Herrnhut, which hovers over the religious poetry of Novales and pervades the philosophy of Schleiermacher, must manifest itself again in the green forests along the banks of the Delaware and Schuylkill, for it is the Count who says: *Und dass ein Herrnhut ist dem Beth'lem hast erworben*. It is still the spirit of the old Bohemian Brethren, but this spirit has been breathed upon and quickened by the air of the American wildwoods."

For brief sketches of the most important of Moravian hymnodists reader is referred to Julian's *Dictionary of Hymnology*. The list of hymn-writers there given might be increased by the names of many others; but it is left to the zeal and industry of some future inquirer in Moravian hymnody to search through the archives of Bethlehem and

\* Haussmann, *op. cit.*, p. 39 *et seq.*

supplement this inadequate account, which but makes its appeal for the importance of the Moravian contribution to eighteenth century Pennsylvania music, secular and sacred.

#### THE MORAVIAN HYMN-WRITERS.\*

Chief among which are: Johann Baptist Albertini, Anna Dober, Carl Bernhard Garve, Christian Gregor, Esther Grünbeck, Henriette Louise von Hayn, Matthäus Gottfried Hehl, Severin Falk Lintrup, Philipp Heinrich Molther, Gottfried Neumann, Anna Nitschmann, Johann Prätorius, August Gottlieb Spangenburg, Count Nicholas Ludwig Zinzendorf and Count Christian Renatus Zinzendorf.

The hymn-writers of less importance and whose hymns are mainly confined to the Moravian hymn-books, include:

Böhler, Petrus, born December 31, 1712, at Frankfurt-am-Main; Moravian minister in England and America; after 1764 member of the Unity's Direction; Bishop; died April 27, 1775, in London.

Böhnisch, Friedrich, born April 16, 1710, at Kunewald, Moravia; 1734 Missionary in Greenland; died July 29, 1763, at Neu Herrnhut, in Greenland.

Brau, Christian Ludwig, born 1746, in Wetteravia; died 1777.

Bruiningk, Adam von, born 1739, at Riga; died 1772, at Herrnhut.

Bruiningk, Heinich von, born August 26, 1738, at Riga; Moravian minister at Zeist (Holland) and Gnadenfrei (Siletia); died October 22, 1785, at Herrnhut.

Büttner, Gottlob; 1740 missionary among the North American Indians; died 1745.

\* John Julian, M. A., *Dictionary of Hymnology*. New York, 1892. This list is particularly interesting, in that it contains, among others, the names of nearly every one of the families that originally migrated from Moravia to Saxony. The real spiritual strength of the unity came from its ancient source in Bohemia, but most of its musical inspiration was German or English.

Cammerhof, Johann Friedrich, born July 28, 1721, near Magdeburg; 1747 Bishop of the Unity; died April 28, 1751, at Bethlehem.

Clemens, Gottfried, born September 1, 1706, at Berlin; Moravian minister at Berlin, Gnadenfrei and Herrnhut; died at Herrnhut, March 23, 1776.

David, Christian, born December 31, 1690, at Senftleben near Fulneck, Moravia; 1722 built the first house in Herrnhut; died February 3, 1751, at Herrnhut.

Dober, Leonhard, born March 7, 1706, at Mönchsroth near Dinkelsbühl, Bavaria; 1732 the first missionary among the negro slaves in St. Thomas, West Indies; 1747 Bishop; died April, 1766, at Herrnhut.

Dober, Martin, born November 23, 1703, at Mönchsroth; died December 9, 1748, at Herrnhut near Büdingen.

Gersdorf, Abraham von, born April 7, 1704, at Siegersdorf near Bunzlau, Silesia; 1769 member of the Unity's Direction; died January 2, 1784, at Barby near Magdeburg.

Graff, Johann Michael, born September 28, 1714, at Hayna near Römheld, Sachse-Meiningen; Moravian minister in Pennsylvania and North Carolina; died August 29, 1752, at Salem.

Grassmann, Andreas, born February 23, 1704, at Senftleben, Moravia; Bishop, 1756; died March 25, 1783, at Berlin.

Jäschke, Nikolaus Andreas, born December 6, 1718, in Moravia; Moravian minister at Berlin; 1760 director of the Moravian mission in India; died January 1, 1762, at Tranquebar.

Lauterbach, Johann Michael, born March 19, 1716, at Buttstedt near Weimar; Moravian minister at Berlin; died November 29, 1787.

Laux, Christian Friedrich, born May 14, 1731, at Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut; died April 12, 1784, at Barby.

Lawatsch, Anna Maria, *née* Demuth, born November 17, 1712, at Karlsdorf, Moravia; died 1759 in America.

Layritz, Paul Eugenius, born November 13, 1707, at Wunsiedel, Bavaria; member of the Unity's Direction, 1764; died July 31, 1788, at Herrnhut.

Meyer, Simon, from Langensalza; about 1740 Moravian minister in America.

Müller, Gottfried Polykarp, born June 13, 1685, at Stollberg near Chemnitz; 1740 Bishop; died June 17, 1747, at Urschkau, Silesia.

Neisser, Frederick Wenzel, born November 16, 1716, at

Sehlen, Moravia; member of the Unity's Direction, 1764; died October 12, 1777, at Barby.

Neisser, Georg, born April 11, 1715, at Sehlen, Moravia; 1735 Moravian Minister in America.

Nitschmann, David, born December 27, 1696, at Zauchenthal, Moravia; 1732 with Leonard Dober, missionary, in St. Thomas; first Bishop of the renewed Brethren's Church, consecrated March 13, 1735, by Bishop Jablonsky, at Berlin; died October, 1772, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Nitschmann, Johann the elder, born October 3, 1703, at Kunewalde, Moravia; 1741 Bishop; died May 26, 1772, at Zeist near Utrecht.

Oldendorp, Georg Andreas, born March 8, 1721, at Hildesheim; died March 9, 1787, as Moravian minister at Ebersdorf.

Peistel, Karl Heinrich von, born March 25, 1704, at Nedlitz near Weissenfels; died March 24, 1782, at Herrnhut.

Promnitz, Balthasar Friedrich, Count von, born 1711; died February 2, 1744, at Erbach, Franconia.

Reichel, Johann Friedrich, born May 16, 1731, at Windisch-Leube near Altenburg; 1769 member of the Unity's Direction; died at Herrnhut, November 17, 1809.

Reichel, Renata Eleonore, born 1753; died April 5, 1815, at Niesky, Silesia.

Reinecke, Abraham, born April 17, 1712, at Stockholm, Sweden; 1744 Moravian minister in America; died April 7, 1760, at Bethlehem, Pennsylvania.

Schick, Hermann Reinhard, born December 1, 1704, at Eckenheim near Hanau; died September 28, 1771, at Herrnhut.

Schmidt, Joachim, from Swedish Pomerania; *circa* 1740 assisted in the schools at Herrnhut.

Schrautenbach, Ludwig Karl, Baron von, born 1726; died 1783, on his estate of Lindheim in Wetteravia.

Seebass, Friedrich Wilhelm, died 1785, at Ebersdorf.

Spangenberg, Eva Maria (Immig), born March 8, 1696; died March 21, 1751, at Herrnhut.

Stack, Matthäus, born March 4, 1711, at Mankendorf, Moravia; 1733 Moravian missionary in Greenland; 1771 minister in Pennsylvania; died December 21, 1787.

Till, Jakob, born March 12, 1713, in Moravia; Moravian minister in Pennsylvania; died 1783.

Töltchig, Johann, born at Zauchtenthal, Moravia; Moravian minister in England and Ireland; died 1764, at Dublin.

Watteville, Benigna Justina de, daughter of Count N. L. von Zinzendorf, born December 28, 1725, at Berthelsdorf near Herrnhut; married May 2, 1746, Johannes de Watteville; died May 11, 1789, at Herrnhut.

Watteville, Frederick de, born February 7, 1700, at Berne; died April 24, 1777, at Herrnhut.



JOHN DE WATTEVILLE  
Episcopus

Watteville, Johannes de, originally Johann Michael Langguth, but adopted by Frederick de Watteville, born October 18, 1718, at Walschleben near Erfurt; Member of the Unity's Direction, 1764; died October 11, 1788, at Gnadenfrei, Silesia.

Wobeser, Ernst Wilhelm von, born November 29, 1727, at Luckenwalde, Brandenburg; co-editor of the *Brüder Gesang Buch* 1778. He wrote a German metrical version of the Psalter; died December 16, 1795, at Herrnhut.

Zander, Johann Wilhelm, born 1716; 1742-1761 Moravian missionary in Surinam; died 1782, in Holland.



ERDMUTH DOROTHEA COUNTESS VON ZINZENDORF

Zinzendorf, Erdmuth Dorothea, Countess von, *née* Countess of Reuss-Ebersdorf, born November 7, 1700, at Ebersdorf; married Count Nicholas Ludwig von Zinzendorf, September 7, 1722, and died June 19, 1756, at Herrnhut.





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## APPENDIX

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### 1

*Der Ausbund.* EARLY GERMAN HYMNOLOGY OF PENNSYLVANIA.  
By Rev. Joseph Dubbs, D.D.

“*Der Ausbund* (The Paragon) is a book of hymns and religious ballads, first printed in America by Christopher Saur, in 1742. There have probably been more than a dozen American editions, and it is still in print. Though at one time extensively circulated among the Mennonites of all kinds, it is now regarded as the exclusive possession of the sect known as the Amish, or Ohmish,\* who, we believe, still use it in their religious services.

“According to the title-page, the ‘*Ausbund*’ consists of ‘beautiful hymns composed in the prison of the castle of Bassau (*sic*) and elsewhere by the Swiss brethren and other orthodox Christians.’ Besides these hymns it contains a confession of faith by Thomas von Imbroich,† and a series of sketches of Mennonite martyrs, who from their names appear to have been related to many of the first settlers of Lancaster county. It was first published at Schaffhausen in 1583, and has been printed in Basel as recently as 1838.

“The ‘*Ausbund*’ is in every respect a curious book, which cannot be ignored by any one who desires to become familiar

\* The Amish are a small sect of rigid Mennonites, principally found in Lancaster county. The name is said to be derived from Jacob Ammen, of Ammenthal, in Switzerland, a preacher of the seventeenth century, who led a reactionary party among the Mennonites.

† Thomas Drucker von Imbroich (1531-1556), who is justly considered one of the chief Mennonite worthies, was pastor of a congregation at Cologne, and suffered martyrdom at the age of twenty-five. His writings were extensively circulated in the form of tracts, and finally acquired a sort of confessional authority.

with the life-history of the German sects. The writers were evidently illiterate, and employed a '*Babylonish*' dialect, but their sincerity and earnestness are everywhere apparent. Their verses are roughly constructed, and mystical contemplation is sought in them in vain, but they tell the tale of their persecutions with a degree of simple fervor that cannot fail to awaken responsive sympathy. In every instance the name of some popular tune is given, to which the hymn may be sung, which produces an effect that is sufficiently incongruous.\* Thus, one of the most solemn hymns is to be sung to the tune of 'There went a maiden with a jug.' It is remarkable that in these hymns there are but few words of condemnation for cruel persecutors; but once in a while the indignation of the poet is not to be repressed, as, for instance, in the following verses from the 'martyrs' song' of George Ladennacher and Wilhelm von Kepsel:

"Cologne, Cologne, upon the Rhine,  
When wilt thou heed our praying?  
When wilt thou cease to drink the blood  
Of saints, which thou art slaying?  
  
Now from thy wicked raging cease,  
And from thine evil turn thee!  
Or hell at length will be thy grave,  
Eternal fire will burn thee."

"There are in the '*Ausbund*' many things which one would hardly expect to find in a Protestant hymn-book, such as stories from the Apocrypha, and legends of the saints. In the ballads descriptive of the sufferings of the Anabaptists, the supernatural is made to play an important part. One of the martyrs, Haslibacher, is, for instance, said to have been visited by the angels, and when he was executed a number of

\* It has been suggested that these secular tunes were employed in times of persecution for the purpose of misleading their enemies, who might chance to overhear the Mennonites at their devotions. This, however, is doubtful.

wonderful signs occurred, in accordance with his predictions. These stories were read and sung by the early Mennonite settlers until they became an element in their daily thinking. They must have had a tendency to cause them to regard themselves as an oppressed and persecuted people, long after all occasion for such a feeling had passed away.

*Das Kleine Davidische Psalterspiel der Kinder Zions, Germantown, C. Saur, 1744. 12mo., 530 + 15 + 1 pp.*

“This book was a favorite with Separatists of various kinds, and was an abridgment of a larger European collection. It was produced by the fanatical brotherhood known as the ‘Inspired,’ which must have been at one time quite numerous in Pennsylvania, but was generally absorbed, as we suppose, by the new church of the ‘Brethren.’ *Johann Friedrich Rock* (1687-1749) was, if not the founder, the chief leader of this peculiar people, who, according to Goebel, derived much of their spirit from the French ‘Prophets of the Cevennes.’ Their inspiration was at times accompanied by violent convulsions. Several of the leaders—Gruber, Gleim, and Mackinet—emigrated to America, and resided in Germantown. Saur was also originally connected with them. In Germany, after Rock’s death, they maintained a feeble existence until the beginning of the present century, when they again began to increase and prosper. In 1853, under the leadership of Metz and Weber, most of them emigrated to America, where they founded several socialistic institutions, of which ‘Ebenezer,’ near Buffalo, is the most prominent.

“Like all the hymn-books of this school, the ‘*Psalterspiel*’ runs riot in the imagery of the Song of Solomon, and seems ‘perfumed with myrrh and frankincense, with all powders of the merchant.’ There is perhaps less extreme mysticism than in some of the preceding publications, and we find no reference to the glories of celibacy. It contains many real beauties, and was for many years a great favorite, having been republished, in America, in more than a dozen editions.

## 2

*Das Gesaeng der einsamen und verlassenen Turtel-Taube.*

CODEx EPHRATENSIS. Now in the Music Division of the Library of Congress. By the generous courtesy of Mr. Carl Engel, Chief of the Music Division, the following facts concerning this remarkable eighteenth-century production are made available.

In his annual report for the fiscal year, ending June 30, 1927, Mr. Engel tells the story of the Library's possession of the musical relic:

"Easily the most interesting acquisition in the field of early musical Americana is a large manuscript copy of Conrad Beissel's 'Turtel-Taube,' the first extensive hymnal of the Ephrata Cloisters, written in 1746. It was sold at auction in New York on March 16, 1927, as 'the property of a London consignor'; the successful bidder was Mr. Gabriel Wells, the well-known antiquarian, who—upon learning of the Library's wish to own this unique manuscript—most considerately ceded it at the price he paid for it. \* \* \* \*"

The Anderson Catalogue of March 16, 1927, item 69, gives the description which follows in part:

"*Ephrata Manuscript.* Beautifully ornamented manuscript of all the songs and music written or produced by Conrad Beissel and the 'Dunker' Brethren and Sisters of the Ephrata Cloisters before 1746. Containing over 750 \* Songs and Hymns, with the Music for from four to seven Voices in the System invented by Beissel and now forgotten. Written upon 935 pp., 4to. Ornamented with nearly 600 original designs drawn with pen and ink, *some slightly touched with color; 6 elaborate titles, headings, etc.; and thousands of ornamental initials and dainty devices interspersed throughout text and music.* Bound in cloth (a little worn), some pp.

\* Nearer one thousand.

loose. Ephrata, 1746. In a blue levant morocco case (lock broken), by Riviere.

“The first work made in America containing an entirely original system of music and an original system of ornamental design, both invented by Conrad Beissel, founder and superintendent of the Ephrata cloisters. It is also the first hymn-book wherein all the hymns were of original composition.\* The Title reads: ‘*Die Bittre Gute, Oder, Das Gesaeng der einsamen Turtel-Taube, der christlichen Kirche hier auf Erden, die annoch im Trauerthal auf den dürren Aesten und Zweigen den Stand ihrer Wittwenschaft beklaget, und dabey Hoffnung singet von einer andern und nochmaligen Vermählung. Ephrata im Jahr 1746.*’

\* \* \* \* \*

“The Manuscript. The first double-page folding leaf contains the dedication to ‘*Fridsam*’ (a name by which Beissel was known in the community) in Gothic letters, surrounded by a beautifully ornamental border in which are five Benisons signed by the five chief Brethren: Brothers Jethro, Theonis, Nehemiah, Jonathan and Jaebez. Then the Title as above, followed by 24 pp. of Beissel’s theory of music under the titles in the preceding paragraph. A Collection of five-part Hymns, lettered A to Q, 32 pp.; 326 Hymns on 106 pp.; unnumbered Hymns on 3 pp. Then come the long Choruses: ‘*The Song of Moses*,’ 9 pp.; ‘*Jeremiah xxxi*,’ 12 pp.; A Short Collection of Hymns, 13 pp.; ‘*Psalm 148*,’ 4 pp.; ‘*The Song of the Lamb*,’ 6 pp. Another Collection of 368 Hymns on 123 pp., some of which are signed ‘*Jaebez*,’ ‘*Theo*,’ ‘*Hanna*,’ ‘*Ketura*,’ ‘*Leonis*,’ etc.; unnumbered Hymns on 42 pp. Special title [translated, in part], ‘*There follow a few Spiritual glimpses to which the name of Roses and Lillies have been given.*’ These occupy from 2 to 4 pp. and are highly ornamented:

\* Care must be exercised in accepting this statement as a finality. Some earlier manuscripts, or incunabula, may yet be discovered by subsequent investigators, with still earlier original systems of music.

'*The Spirit and the Bride say, Come*'; '*The Middle Chorus*'; '*A Lily*'; '*The Angelic Choir*'; '*The Lord is High on His Throne*'; '*A Flower*.' More Choral Songs and Hymns, 34 pp.; a 16 pp. Chorus, apparently from the '*Bride of the Lamb*' in '*Turtel-Taube*,' and then *Spiritual Glimpses on Hymns*. At the end is a 17 pp. Index of First Lines."

Some slight repetition is involved in continuing Mr. Engel's report, but its clarity will so commend itself to future students that it is therefore given, almost in its entirety.

"The entire manuscript is written in German. It is claimed that this is the copy which, according to the *Chronicon Ephratense* (1786), was 'reverently presented' to Beissel himself by the brethren and sisters of his Baptist community 'as a testimonial of filial esteem.' The offering consisted of two books, one prepared by the brethren, the other by the sisters. The chronicler relates that it took the three brethren most skilled in this kind of work three-quarters of a year to do their share, which 'contained about five hundred tunes for five voices.' This conforms with the first section of the presentation manuscript which, although now bound in one volume, shows by its varied pagination and by other signs that it is a composite of certainly two and possibly more than two sections independently prepared. Other characteristics mentioned in the *Ephrata Chronicle* as belonging to this presentation copy—such as the elaborate dedication page in Gothic letters to 'Fridsam' (the monastic name of Beissel) with the benisons of five of the brethren surrounding it, the lavish decoration of every leaf with 'its own head-piece' or tail-piece—are recognizable also in the manuscript. But beyond this, positive proof regarding its origin is lacking.

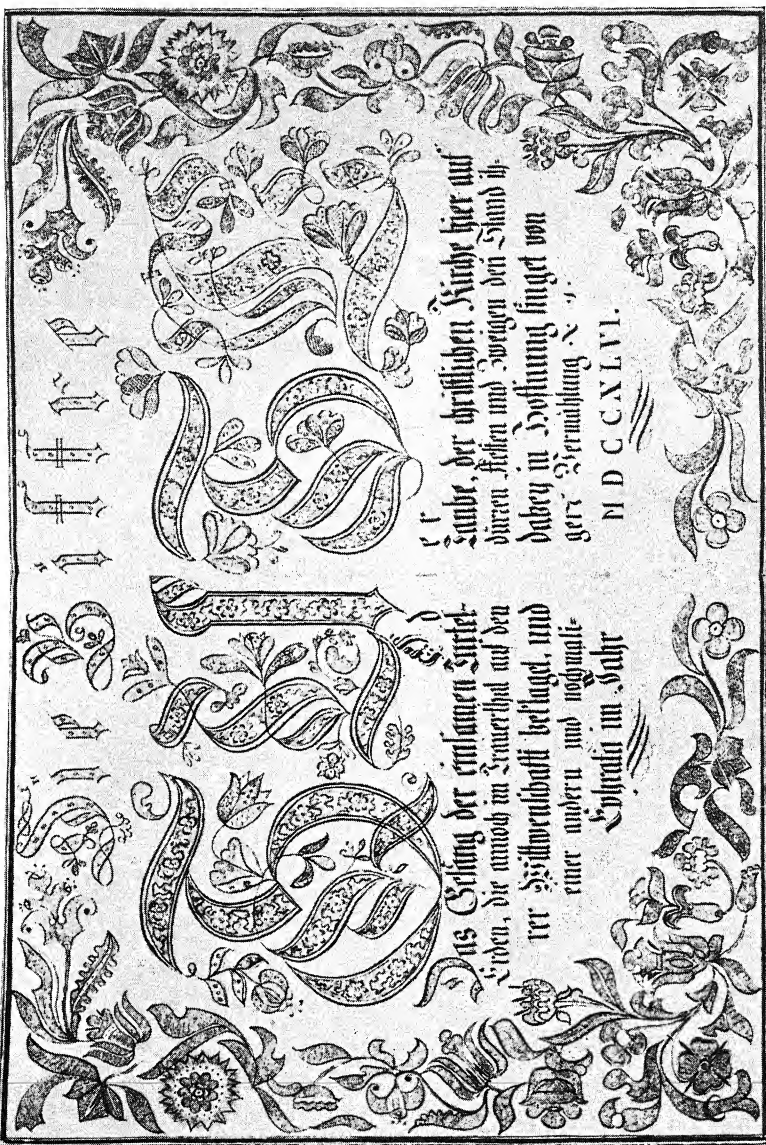
"The manuscript was apparently intended as a compilation and fair copy of all the Ephrata hymn material then in existence. The copy is not absolutely free from mistakes. Some of the corrections in cursive letters in the preface and in some of the music may be in the hand of Beissel or another



person in authority. Evidently some of the hymns which are marked 'gilt nicht' were intended to be left out eventually. There are few erasures. The whole book is a marvellous example of the calligraphy taught in the writing schools of the sect as part of its religious discipline. \* \* \* The manuscript, such as it is, must be regarded as not absolutely finished; this is shown by pages entirely blank and pages ruled but without music (apparently prepared for further additions), as also by some of the designs which are unfinished or only traced in pencil. The 'Vorbericht' of the first printed edition of the 'Turtel-Taube' (1747) is lacking in this manuscript; nor does it contain the final paragraphs of the printed 'Vorrede' with their apology or explanation why lengthy rules on singing or musical harmony should be included in a book that contains only words but no music, such as the printed 'Turtel-Taube' does.

"The index to the 1746 Ephrata Codex lists 763 titles (whereas the printed 'Turtel-Taube' of 1747 lists only 278); of the 763 hymns in the codex, 310 have been set twice, 69 have been set three times, and four have been set four times, which gives a total of a little more than 1220 tunes and choruses contained in the manuscript. It is said that the majority of these hymns and the tunes for them were by Conrad Beissel; in some instances, however, there is evidence (names set in the margin) that either the words or the music of a hymn originated with some other brother or sister of the community; among the names so given are those of Brother Jaebez (Reverend John Peter Miller, who at one time was Prior of the community), Theo, Hanna, Ketura, Leonis and Foben. Most of the hymn tunes are set for five voices, the upper three are written in the soprano, alto, and tenor clefs respectively; the lower two are in the bass clef. The 'second bass' does not always carry the 'fundamental' bass part but is rather optional, for in a smaller Ephrata manuscript owned by the Library, which is in four parts throughout, the upper four parts of the version in the large codex have been re-





Title-page of Ephrata Codex, 1746. In the Library of Congress.

**So können wir dann nun im Segen wal-**  
 und hat geliebt und Ihme anfermpfht, wir freuen uns und ruhmen  
 in jeder Zeit sein Lob vermehren und Ihme Herrlichkeit und Ehre geben.

**Woh! Bist wir manchen bitterer Schmerz**  
 Durchdringt meinen Geist und Herz hier in dem Zeit der Hellsichtigkeit auf  
 meinem Weg zur Heiligkeit.

**Der tief Fried aus Gottes reinem Wesen nimmt**  
 Wir dann so sind in GOTT genesen, so werden wir auch ewig bei Ihm sein.  
 Verschmacht hierauf Erden.

Sample-pages of the Music  
 Courtesy of The

len dorthin nach iener schönen neuen Speis,  
seinen Namen, und preisen seiner Güte und Wunder Macht weiter durch

weil Gott nach seiner Güte und Wohlgefallen  
seines Geistes Feuer flammten, uns hat in solche heilige Zeit gebracht, daß wir

unter Deck und ganzer Dinnen ein, und weil  
wir können nun was uns dort wird zum Erbe werden genießen schon im

of the Ephrata Codex, 1746.  
Library of Congress.

tained, and the fifth voice has been simply omitted. Only the section in the codex designated as 'Roses and Lilies' is in four parts, with a number of text lines broken up in characteristic Ephrata fashion and distributed between the various solo voices of the choir. The manuscript, throughout, shows how carefully the music was divided for purposes of antiphonal singing.

"Much that concerns the technique employed by the Ephrata composers and singers still remains shrouded in darkness. The late Dr. J. F. Sachse (in 1903) published a monograph on 'The music of the Ephrata Cloister, Also Conrad Beissel's Treatise on Music as set forth in a Preface to the Turtel-Taube of 1747.' But this study is by no means exhaustive nor can all of the statements made in it be considered as correct. A great difficulty in the understanding of Beissel's text lies in the obscure German of the period made more cryptic by the involved and mystic allusions of the writers. In some instances absolutely new terms are employed for which there is no precedent and the meaning of which is not always clear. Thus the preface of the manuscript and the 'Vorrede' of the printed 'Turtel-Taube' use the expression that great pains should be taken in learning to 'break the voice' ('dass man die stimme lerne brechen') which in Dr. Sachse's book was translated as 'diligent efforts must be made to train the voice.' But 'brechen' is not to train, and possibly the word holds a key to one of the most unusual qualities of the singing at Ephrata, which is supposed to have been done entirely in 'falsetto' or head tones.

"Another part of Beissel's instructions which needs more accurate translating and more satisfactory explaining than it has hitherto received, is the one that deals with the 'falling' of the voices and the raising of them. Possibly it was not only a matter of correcting a 'dropped pitch' but of modulation; for, as the old chronicler puts it, 'the composer must know when it is proper to swerve into another key,' and how to produce a 'sweet dissonance, which renders the art a great

wonder.' The Ephrata musicians clearly appreciated the difference between various tonalities. For instance, the hymn 'Froloket ihr Völker' has three settings, one in C, another in G, and the third in E-flat. It can no longer be claimed that Beissel and his fellow 'solitaries' on the banks of the Cocalico were the first hymnologists of Pennsylvania. A recent publication of the Pennsylvania Society of the Colonial Dames of America proves that Johannes Kelpius, the mystic philosopher, and his theosophical community on the Wissahickon wrote and sang hymns as early as 1694. But their melodies were borrowed, while the greater part of the Ephrata hymn-tunes and choruses are evidently the work of Beissel and his companions. Nor is their work so 'crude' as is generally believed. On the contrary; considering the circumstances, the whole singing of the Ephrata baptists, or 'Dunker' (a noun derived from the German verb 'dunken' or 'tunken' which means to dip or immerse) is an almost unbelievable phenomenon.

"The singers were subjected to a rigorous discipline. Beissel went so far as to put them on a diet 'beneficial to the human voice.' \* \* \* \* Add to this the chronicler's admission that Beissel 'conducted the school with great sternness,' and one can readily understand why 'a lesson seldom ended without tears,' or why 'within the brethren the essence of wrath was stirred' over the pains they were put to. But once the difficulties mastered, 'this wonderful harmony resounded over the country; whoever heard of it, wished to see it, and whoever saw it, acknowledged that God truly lived among these people.'

"Here, then, is an admirable task for American musicology: the thorough study and complete revelation of the Ephrata music and its makers, that little band of German sectarians bound together and divided by spiritual elevation and base intrigue, mystic aloofness and jealous quarrels. \* \* \* If we correctly interpret the Ephrata chronicle as saying that the singing schools were not formed or the writing of original music not begun before the year 1741, and if by 1746 the

'Dunkers' had composed more than 1200 sacred melodies and choruses, theirs was the most amazing case of a hymn-tune epidemic known in the whole history of music.

"For 150 years the Ephrata Codex of music remained 'hidden' in private ownership. How the manuscript left America and came to England can be explained by a pen-and-ink note, on the inside of the front cover, which is in the handwriting of John Wilkes (1727-1797), the notorious English publicist and political agitator. The note reads: 'April 1775. This curious book was lent me by Doctor Franklin just before he set out for Pennsylvania.' In 1775 Wilkes was Lord-Mayor of London. Through his testimony we learn that the book at one time belonged to Benjamin Franklin. \* \* \*"

In commenting recently as to Franklin's possession of the Ephrata manuscript, Mr. Engel said: "My conclusion that the book was sent by Peter Miller to Franklin, late in 1771, is based on a reference in a letter from Franklin to Mrs. Deborah Franklin, dated London, January 28, 1772. He speaks there of having received 'a box and letters' from Peter Miller 'with a most valuable curiosity.'"

*Historical Sketches of Music in Bethlehem.* By Rufus A. Grider.

John Hill Martin in his *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania* (second edition, Philadelphia, 1873), a work filled with the quaint and curious of forgotten lore, gives a sketch of Mr. Grider, and follows it, in considerable detail, with the latter's *Historical Sketches of Music in Bethlehem*, written in 1870, and printed for Mr. Martin, in 1873.

As Mr. Grider is the source of quotations frequently met without reference, and spans a period of Bethlehem's musical history in which he was a participant and which may soon be overlooked, if not lost, this lengthy inclusion may be welcome.

"Mr. Grider," writes Mr. Martin, "being an artist of no mean merit, his pencil and brush have enriched the collection with views, taken in the streets of the town, and in the vicinity. His journals are full of interesting records of past events; and he has a valuable accumulation of poetry, both in German and English, descriptive of life and events in the history of Bethlehem. Free use has been made in this work of Mr. Grider's ancient treasures, by his kind permission; and from his 'Historical Sketches of Music in Bethlehem,' written in 1870, at my request, for this history, the copious extracts have been made which compose this chapter.\* . . . .

"Mr. Grider has been connected with the church and concert choir at Bethlehem for more than twenty-five years, having been in former years the leading tenor, and a performer on one of the flutes in the orchestra, and is therefore entirely competent to speak on the subject about which he writes."

In a sketch written in 1854, Mr. Grider states that:

"Bethlehem was, perhaps, the most musical of all the Moravian Congregations in America, in proportion to its in-

\* Chapter xv.

habitants. There was no place in the United States that could compare to it. Music was one of the institutions which gave character to the town, afforded intellectual amusement and pleasure, both to the performers and hearers; the children imbibed the spirit, and the influence of it could be distinctly seen in the inhabitants.

“The Brethren’s House was the great nursery where the males received their education, and although kept very strict in many things; in music full scope was given, and was indulged in by both young and old; and if ever democratic principles were practised, it was in the Moravian towns; all were alike, respect was paid to the office and not to the man. The Bishops of the Moravians were nearly all musicians, and many of the Ministers took part therein, frequently playing the first violin in the orchestra. The musical performances were either in church or concert music, but one was distinct from the other.

“In the Brethren’s House, and the Sisters, music was the principal amusement. The Single Brethren had music every evening, the married people went there to enjoy it, and to assist in the performances.

“As an evidence of the love of music, and the simplicity of the early Moravians, it is recorded in the *Church Diary* of July 8, 1754, that, ‘Our musicians of the church choir, performing hymn tunes, accompanied the harvesters as far as the river, on their way to cut the rye on the new farm, which was put under cultivation last fall near the *Crown*; as the weather was fine, all who could assist, repaired to the fields, men, women and children.’ ”

In his later and more extensive work, *Music in Bethlehem*, written in 1870, Mr. Grider gives many interesting details which, though elsewhere noted and credited, can, with profit, be here repeated.

“It is not known when music in an organized manner was first performed here. It is recorded that instruments



were used by the Moravians in Bethlehem in their religious services in 1743, and that the noted Indian chief *Tschoop* was buried amidst strains of music in 1746. An attack by Indians was unintentionally averted about 1755 by playing a dirge on the trombones, the Indians supposing it meant an alarm. Thus, music may possibly have saved the town, and the lives of its inhabitants.

“Benjamin Franklin, in a letter to his wife in 1756, says that he heard very fine music in the church; that ‘flutes, oboes, French-horns and trumpets accompanied the organ.’ Hence, we may infer that music formed, previous to his visit, an essential part of Divine worship and social entertainment, and was cultivated to a great extent by a well-organized body of musicians.

“The first organ was obtained when the present chapel was built, in 1751.

“The first orchestra performers, whose names are known to us, existed in 1780:—Rev. Emanuel Nitschman, *Leader*; Rev. Jacob Van Vleck, *1st violin*; Abraham Levering, Matthias Witke, *2d violin*; Frederick Beck, *viola*; David Weinland, Joseph Till, *violincellos*; Wm. Lembke, Tobias Beckel, *French-horns*; Samuel Bader, Joseph Oerter, *flutes*; David Weinland, Tobias Boeckel, *trumpets*; James Hall and Frederick Boeckel, *oboes*.

“In 1795, a select party, consisting of Rev. John Frederick Frueauff, *1st violin*; George Fredk. Boeckel, *2nd violin*; John George Weiss, *viola*, and David Weinland, *violincello*, constituted an organization for performing *Jos. Haydn's Quartettes*, then quite new. It will be perceived that the music of that period, though lacking the variety existing at the present day, included all the instruments then used by European orchestras. The trombone, double bass, fagotto or bassoon and clarinet, not having been generally introduced. It can be truly said that instrumental music here has kept pace with that in Europe; the various new instruments being introduced as soon as used in the latter country.

“As constant accessions were made to the colony from Europe, the same statement is true as to compositions; no opportunity was neglected to obtain all the newest music which the Brethren in Europe possessed. It is known that the Rev. Emanuel Nitschman, when he came from Europe, brought the first copies of *Haydn's Quartettes* and *Symphonies*. It is said that Joseph Haydn, if not directly, was at least indirectly in communication with the musicians of this place. John Antes, born in Fredericton, Montgomery Co., Pa., where the Moravians had a preaching station, was apprenticed to a wheelwright in Bethlehem; being a youth possessing much talent, he devoted himself also to the study of music; performing on all the stringed instruments; he also studied it as a science. The Musical Library contains fourteen of his compositions. He was a skilful workman also, and partially supplied the then existing want of instruments, by constructing a viola, violin and violincello; they were used at *Christian-Spring*. The viola with his name inscribed on it, still exists at Nazareth, and the latter is now in the church at Bethlehem. Having gone to Europe, he was sent out as a missionary to Egypt, where the Turks punished him with the *Bastinado*, from the effects of which he never entirely recovered; while laid up in that country, he consoled himself by composing quartettes; when convalescent, he returned to Europe. In Vienna Antes made the acquaintance of Haydn, who, together with other musicians, performed his compositions.

“In the year 1800, Frederick Bourguin, a new-comer, and a performer, brought with him the first bassoon. In 1806, a double bass was added; it cost sixty-eight dollars; it was paid for partly by a donation from the church funds, and by proceeds obtained at a benefit concert. The Rev. John C. Beckler performed on it the first time, but as he resided at Nazareth, Jacob Wollé, one of the violincellists, became the player; who, after having performed on that instrument, both at concert and in the church, for a period of fifty-seven years, was called home in 1863.

“Haydn’s greatest work, the *Creation*, was obtained in 1810, and partially performed in 1811. It is believed that was prior to its performance in any other part of the United States. This was the case also with his *Seasons*, the *Song of the Bell*, the *Seven Sleepers*, *Paradise and the Peri*, and other German compositions. The copies of the *Creation* were made in 1810, from the score, by John Frederick Peter, and are still preserved. When the piece was first performed here, the orchestra was thus constituted: *1st violins*, David Moritz Michael; *Leader*, John Frederick Peter; *2nd violins*, John Christian Till, John Frederick Rauch; *viola*, William Bealer; *violincello*, David Weinland; *contra-bass*, Jacob Wolle; *flutes*, Joseph Oerter, J. F. Bourquin; *clarinet*, John Ricksecker; *bassoon*, J. Samuel Krause; *horns*, Joseph Till, Daniel Kliest; *oboe*, James Hall; *trumpet*, Frederick Boeckel. Soon thereafter were added as new members, Jedidiah and Timothy Weiss, Charles F. Beckel, Jacob C. Till, George Fetter, Christian F. Luck, and others.

“The separation of the sexes was a distinguishing feature in Moravian Congregations, until about the beginning of the present century. \* \* \* Its effects upon music were such, that no vocal performances could take place in the concert room, except those in which male voices alone took part, until its abolishment. It exercised considerable restraint even upon the performance of church music, since the female singers were required to occupy the northern part of the church, the present chapel; while the male performers gathered around and in the rear of the organ in the gallery, situated at the southern end.

“From existing printed and written psalms and music, used on festal occasions, dating from 1768 to 1795, it is evident that *two choirs* of singers existed, a male and a female, each complete in itself. Some pieces were sung by the first, others, entirely by the latter; in some compositions they were made to respond to each other.

“The building of the new church in 1803, ended this ex-

clusiveness. It was no longer deemed improper for Sisters to sing at concerts. At first, the married alone were allowed to sing solos, but in time these gave way to the Single Sisters.

"While the former strict rules were in force, the Single Sisters had in their house, for many years, a complete string quartette, consisting of first and second violin, viola and violincello. The performers were members of their own choir, they performed for their own amusement, and assisted at the music in their own Prayer Hall.

"The sources from which the young people received their musical knowledge were the Boarding School for Females, the Sisters' House and the Single Brethren's House. Instruction was generally imparted free of charge. Talent was sought for, and when found, was developed. Persons who practised music were looked upon as servants of the church; every one was expected to assist in performances, whenever called upon to do so by the director of church music. -

"*Practisings* were first held in the Brethren's House; after it was abolished as an institution of the church in 1814, they were held in the large room in the west end of the new church, now used for keeping the archives of the church. In 1824 they were removed to the present dwelling of the Principal of the Moravian Day School; after that place was required for school purposes, they were moved to the old chapel; at present they are held in the hall of the Moravian Day School.

"*Whit-Monday* has ever been held a holiday in this community. It became the anniversary day of the 'Philharmonic Society' in this manner; among the accessions to the colony, was a professor of music, a member of the church, named David Moritz Michael; he was a *virtuoso* on the violin, and performed well on the French horn, clarinet and other instruments. The young players all took lessons of him, and were greatly benefited. He was a composer also, noted more particularly for compositions for wind instruments, then in vogue, called *Parthien* or Harmony Music, composed for five

or six instruments, generally two clarinets, two French horns and two bassoons. Such music was generally performed in concerts from the balustrade on top of the Brethren's House, on week-day evenings, in the summer, for the entertainment of the town's people.

"One of these compositions was especially composed by the professor for a diversion on the river on Whit-Monday afternoon, when the whole population could enjoy it. This was called '*Die Wasserfarth*,' or the *Boat Ride*. The idea was practically carried out for a number of years, and resulted in making it the musical day of the year.

"The inhabitants assembled on the river bank, west of the old bridge, about 1 o'clock, P. M., a large flat-bottomed boat or *flat*, propelled by four men with long poles, and provided with seats and music stands, received the musicians. A procession was formed by those who intended to participate in the pleasures of the occasion. When all was in readiness, the boat started, the music began; the party moved up the Lehigh, accompanied by hundreds of listeners, enjoying the music, social concourse and delightful prospect. The scenes on that part of the Lehigh were truly beautiful; the banks were studded with buttonwood, oak, hickory, water-birch, and other trees whose graceful branches extended beyond, and dipped into the silent stream. Islands covered with vegetation, trees and shrubbery, whose shadows were reflected in the water, added to the attractions.

"The walk was level, bounded on the north by fruitful meadows, and cultivated fields and orchards, on rising ground; on the south by the river and adjacent mountains. The season of bloom then often at its height, the apple, peach, cherry and other trees, being then in full blossom, the meadows covered with violets, the river bank with honeysuckle, lupin, and other flowers. The party continued westward one mile, to an eddy caused by a turn of the river, forming a miniature whirlpool.\* The poles no longer touched bottom,

\* Called the deep hole.

the waters being too deep. The composer, poetlike, supposed a case of great peril, caused the music to convey the idea of fear and terror; the boat was kept in the whirlpool long enough for the musicians to act out their part; when it emerged from the eddy into the placid stream, the sounds changed to lively airs and graceful melodies. The boat meanwhile glided with the current, and the party wended their way homeward.

“My principal authority for the foregoing, was the late Mr. Jacob Wollé, who said, ‘that about the year 1809 to 1813, he assisted as a performer of the Boat-ride, and on one occasion, the performers were John Ricksecker, *1st clarinet*; David Moritz Michael, *2nd clarinet*; Christian Luckenbach, Peter Schneller, *French horns*; Samuel Krause and Jacob Wollé, *bassoons*.’

\* \* \* \* \*

“That a musical community existed here, may be inferred from the following circumstance; about the year 1800 the town contained about 500 inhabitants, yet that small number furnished six persons as organists, who were able to serve the congregation, and did so, without recompense. Such organists were required to know about 400 church tunes, and be able to play them in any key the officiating minister might start them. (The minister generally commenced the singing of the hymn without announcing the words, the organist and the congregation joined in as soon as they could catch the words and the tune.) They were required to perform concerted music at sight. Now, the congregation is about three times larger, and but three persons are found able to do so. It was deemed not only an honor to be able, but a great privilege to serve the congregation in that manner. The names of the organists of that time, as well as the business each followed, are here given:

John George Weiss, Watchmaker.

Joseph Oerter, Bookbinder.

John Frederick Peter, Clerk.

Joseph Horsfield, Nurseryman.

Anton Smidt, Tinsmith.

Marcus Fetter, Blacksmith.

\* \* \* \* \*

“The Moravian church has adopted choral tunes, deeming them the best suited for congregational singing, ‘and although there is much sameness in style, yet they are capable of much variety in expression, and indeed many portray in peculiarity of cadence, or in combined melody and harmony, a diversity of emotion suited to the expression of those feelings in which a believer delights. Their beauty exists not so much in the melody as in harmony, hence they should be sung in four parts. Their tune books contain about 495, of which about 400 are used. They have been gathered from many countries, from every available source; they use ten of Luther’s and fourteen of J. C. Latrobe’s composing; the church owes the latter a debt of gratitude, not only for his compositions, which are truly devotional, but for the impulse which he gave to many musical members of his church, in guiding and elevating their taste.’ See Lecture on Church Music by the Rev. Lewis West, of Brockwier, England, *Fraternal Messenger*, February number, 1858.

\* \* \* \* \*

“It is not customary here for the choir to lead in congregational singing, the organ alone leads. Every member of the church who is able, is expected to sing loud and heartily. The choir sings only concerted music, and alone. Anthems are sometimes sung by the choir, and by the congregation.

“*Concerted Church Music*, with organ and orchestra accompaniment, was performed here soon after the settlement began. It was at first, very simple in its style, being chiefly the compositions of their own people, who composed under in-

structions of those in authority, requiring them to simplify. As the style changed in Europe, the Moravian composers were allowed to furnish compositions of a higher order; the tastes of their people gradually improved, until the elaborate productions of the best masters were regarded as appropriate.

*"The Musical Library* of the Moravian church at Bethlehem, contains about 750 compositions, 146 with English text, and 611 with German; composed by 89 different authors, all are in manuscript, the greater part having organ and instrumental accompaniments. Besides which, there is a large collection of bound books, some containing collections of pieces, and others containing Masses, by various authors; the latter have English and Latin texts, and have been more recently obtained. Among the manuscript music composed by members of the church, or by others not members, but at the request of the church, and not known outside of a few Moravian congregations, there are many that may be classed among the gems of musical compositions. The favorite authors are Bishop Gregor, J. Christian Geissler, Dr. Soerensen, Graun, Bergt, Naumann, Freydt, Reissiger and Spohr, of Germany; Bishop J. C. Latrobe, of England, and Bishops Herbst and Bechler, of the United States.

\* \* \* \* \*

*"The attractions of the services of Christmas Eve are made more interesting by music. Many suitable compositions exist here. For a series of years, the services on this occasion have been opened by singing that gem, 'Stilly night, silent night,' by the choir, a sweet composition, calming, and preparing the large audiences for what follows. The service lasts about two hours, during which the Rev. F. F. Hagen's 'Morning star the darkness breaks' is sung, alternating between the choir and the children, always to the great delight of those present. The anthem, although simple, and intended for children only, has taken deep root in the hearts of the congregation, who never seem to tire of its performance.*



“ ‘For unto us a child is born,’—Handel. ‘Sey Wilkommen,’—by Haydn. ‘Lift up your Heads, O ye Gates,’—Handel. ‘Gloria,’ 12th Mass,—Mozart, and other compositions, are sung.

\* \* \* \* \*

“*New Year’s Eve*, in Moravian congregations, has ever been the occasion of special services. \* \* \* At 11½ o’clock, P. M., the congregation assembles for watch meeting. After the officiating minister enters, the choir sings Bishop Gregor’s solemn composition, ‘Lord! Lord! God,’ and then the congregation sings; after which the text for the day is read from the text-book, and is the subject of the discourse which follows. Meanwhile the musicians in the choir consult their time-pieces, and quietly assemble in front of the organ. The organist also watches the hands on his time-piece, and sits ready with his feet poised. As the Year expires, the New is welcomed by a loud crash of melody from the organ, and a double choir of trombonists, by playing tune 146, text, ‘Now let us praise the Lord.’ The performance generally leaves the sentences of the speaker unfinished, but ‘Time waits not.’ The congregation rise and join in singing, followed by prayer, the reading of the text for the first day, and the singing of a hymn. These meetings are always largely attended.

“*Passion Week Services* begin on Saturday evening preceding Palm Sunday, with an introductory address and prayer, and with the reading of the history of the incidents of our Saviour’s sufferings. Upon which occasion Dr. Soerensen’s exquisite composition, ‘O Bethany, thou Peaceful habitation,’ is generally performed. It was specially composed for the services on that evening. It ought to serve as a model in refined taste, in simplicity, in accompaniment, and in melody.

“In the services on *Maundy Thursday*, *Good Friday*, *Great Sabbath*, and *Easter*, music forms a prominent part, most of the compositions then used were composed to suit the

occasion by devoted Christian men; many of them persons of high musical culture, whose works have borne the test of time, and are greatly esteemed by Moravians, who always look forward to their performance with pleasure. Although various composers have written for the same occasions, and changes are sometimes made in those usually performed here during a number of years, we will notice the favorites! For *Maundy Thursday*, 'I see thee in thy soul's deep anguish,'—*di Freydt*. Soprano solo, and chorus, with Obligato Bassoon, carrying a mournful melody, an accompaniment to the soloist. On *Good Friday*, 1. 'Jesus bow'd his head and died,'—*di Gregor*. 2. 'The story of his passion,'—*di J. C. Geissler*. 3. 'The Lord of life! now sweetly slumber,'—*di Latrobe*. The *first* is for Soprano Solo and Chorus, tenderly accompanied by the organ and orchestra, while an Obligato Flute continues its mournful strain uninterruptedly throughout the entire performance. The *second* opens with a *duett* for Soprano and Alto, and ends with full chorus and orchestra accompaniment. The *third* is for Tenor and Basso Solo, duett and chorus. This is one of Bishop Latrobe's best compositions. The instrumental accompaniment is very fine. Two Obligato Clarinets and two Flutes are prominent features therein. The services on Good Friday evening are intended to be a spiritual gathering of mourners around the grave of the buried Saviour. The three compositions have been performed here for many years, and have become precious to those who have heard them once each year since childhood.

"In the Love Feast on Great Sabbath afternoon, three musical compositions are performed by the choir, among which is Bishop Latrobe's 'Holy Redeemer,' for Tenor Solo, Chorus, and double Chorus. This composition, good judges of music deem equal to the best of Handel's works.

"The Sabbath evening services are similar in character to those of the evening previous. The assembled worshippers are supposed to be gathered at the Saviour's grave, and give expression to their feelings by strains of sorrow. The choir

usually performs two pieces, one for female voices in two parts; the other, one of Latrobe's compositions, for the same, considered the best of all his works. Text, 'With thy meritorious death, &c.' Both Friday and Saturday evening meetings close with congregational singing without organ accompaniment, the organ, after starting the choral, gradually ceases playing; this is an impressive feature. On Easter morning the church services begin at 5 o'clock, A. M., and will be fully described hereafter.

"By the Moravians, music is regarded as suited to every occasion in life. \* \* \* \* After death the *departure* is made known to the congregation by the performance of a trombone quartette from the church spire; at the funeral, when the congregation leaves the church, the trombonists head the procession, who perform while marching, and lead the singing at the grave.\* The trombones produce a peculiarly solemn effect when performed upon, better and softer melody could be produced by more modern keyed instruments, the Cornet and Alt-horn, &c., but the trombone was originally selected as the symbol of 'the last Trump,' and on that account has held its place. Four different sizes are used, known as the Soprano, Alto, Tenor and Basso. The two smaller have Trumpet Tones.

"Trombones are also used on festal occasions, to announce the festival, from the church steeple, the time being about 7½ o'clock, A. M. Again at the opening of the service at the Love feast, at 2 o'clock, P. M., and at night, if open-air meetings are held, as upon the occasion of the children's festival. The tunes are varied to suit the occasions.

"The services on Easter morning without the accompaniment of the trombonists, would lose much of their solemnity and interest. On that occasion the choir is often increased. Formerly all the instrumental performers, whether string or wind, took part; latterly trombones only are used. The musi-

\* A full description of the funeral ceremonies will be found in chapter 10th, and are therefore omitted here.—J. H. M.

cians pass through the principal streets of the town, beginning about 3 o'clock, A. M., in order to awaken the members of the congregation, greeting them with Hymn, No. 945, represented by Tune 83. The text:—

'Christ is risen from the dead,  
Thou shalt rise too, saith my Savior,  
Of what should I be afraid?  
I with him shall live forever,  
Can the dead forsake his limb,  
And not draw me unto him?'

“Half an hour before service the spacious church is usually filled with the congregation and visitors, who engage in praying the ‘Easter Morning Litany,’ which embraces the creed of the church. At the passage, ‘Glory be to him who is the resurrection and the life,’ the minister dismisses the assembly with the announcement that the rest of the litany will be prayed in the burial ground. The musicians having left previously, greet the people as they leave the church, with appropriate hymns suited to the occasion. A procession is formed, led by the children of the schools and their teachers. 2d, the church choir singers. 3d, instrumental performers. 4th, the clergy. 5th, females. 6th, males. They then move on to the graveyard. The males then occupy the first path running parallel to Market street. The clergy and all the musicians the second path. The females the third path, and part of that extending north and south from Market street. It is so timed that, as the procession enters the grounds, it is met by the brilliant rays of the rising sun, emblematic of the time of the Saviour’s rising, and our resurrection. As soon as the multitude have reached their appropriate places, the services are continued to their close. The singing is led by the instrumental performers. In case of a fair, mild morning, about 2000 persons usually attend this really grand and impressive service. \* \* \* \*

“Trombones were formerly used to greet celebrated per-

sons. When General Washington visited Bethlehem, he was welcomed by the trombonists, as a mark of respect. They were also formerly blown upon the arrival or departure of clergymen, and distinguished members of the Moravian church. General Sullivan of the Revolutionary Army was so greeted when he visited Bethlehem during that war.

"It requires not a little self-denial to serve as a performer of the trombone choir. He is required to attend all the services when they are used. He is obliged to assist in announcing every death which occurs in the congregation, to play at the funerals, to play on every festal morning and afternoon, to perform before the celebration of the Lord's supper. He is in duty bound to go to the graveyard, or climb to the church belfry at all seasons, and in every kind of weather; cold or rain must not be heeded—he goes through all. Oft-times the intense cold congeals the moisture of the instrument, and renders playing almost impossible. \* \* \* \*

"We cannot dismiss this subject without citing the distinguished services of several who are still serving the congregation in this capacity. There exists a photograph, called the 'Three Trombonists,' the fourth, being represented by his instrument, he having '*gone home*.' The three entered the service as trombonists on Easter morning in the year 1818, having served without interruption to this date, a period of 53 years. The names of the surviving three are, Jedidiah Weiss, Charles F. Beckel and Jacob C. Till; the missing brother, Timothy Weiss.

"The trombones are not, we believe, used in the religious services of any other denomination of Christians in the United States. Those in use here were made in Neukirchen, Germany. \* \* \* \*

"Serenades have been customary here from the founding of the town to the present date. During former times more frequent than now. Visitors to the town were formerly greeted with a serenade. Birthdays were so celebrated. The date of the birth of each individual in the community was

formerly known to all the inhabitants by a custom which existed, and which is still observed in Moravian congregations. We refer to the keeping of a *Birth-day-Book*, a record containing a blank page for each day in the year. In it was recorded the names of every member of the congregation, and friends, and relatives in other places; distinguished members of the church both here and elsewhere—both living and deceased—all such as they desired to remember, often also, distinguished names in the history of the world, such as Luther, Melancthon, Galileo, Columbus, Washington, the Presidents of the United States and others were found therein.

“The *Birth-day-Book* and *Text-Book* were placed on the breakfast table each morning; after the text was read, and while the family were being served, the record was generally consulted in order to ascertain whose birthday it was. This custom served as a bond which held the inhabitants to social union. No one, no matter how poor or humble, was forgotten, every one was greeted with good wishes and attentions. \* \* \* Distant persons were greeted by letter, those near were visited during the day, and saluted with kind wishes, sometimes by the singing of hymns ere they left their bed-chambers. Poetical effusions were composed and sent, many specimens of which still exist in this community. The best composition of this class was written by Bishop Gregor, while residing in America, to his daughter in Europe, giving a description of his American experiences, it is in the German language and consists of thirty-six verses, the first of which is as follows:

“ ‘Aller liebste Christal  
Hente kriegst du zwar,  
Keine Fest epistel,  
Wie die vor’ge war  
Die ich du vor’m Jahre  
Aus der See gesandt  
Denn fur die zeit fahre  
Ich auf trockenem Land.’ ”

“It was written in 1771, and contains an account of Bethlehem, Nazareth, and other Moravian congregations, but the most attractive portion is the description of his visit to the Indian congregation on the Susquehanna river, called *Friedenhutten*, now Lawrence County, Pennsylvania.

“Special pains were taken when the 51st birthday came, then surprise followed surprise. Serenades were a part of the programme. Formerly hymn tunes were performed, such music being constantly practised, the musicians were at all times ready to perform them. . . . .

“The first special organization for serenading, which we can trace, existed here in 1840. It continued during many years, and produced some sweet music; mostly familiar airs, arranged by three of the members, viz.: Charles F. Beckel, E. F. Beckel and Matthew Christ. Their collection embraced about thirty pieces. The members — Charles F. Beckel, *first violin*; Christian F. Luch, *second violin*; Matthew Christ, *clarinet*; John Sigley, *bugle*; Lewis F. Beckel, *flute*; Ernest F. Bleck, *violincello*; Henry D. Bishop, *trombone*; and, at a later day, the same music was rendered, existing vacancies being filled by Ambroise H. Rauch, *bugle*; James H. Wolle and Charles N. Beckel, *trombones*; and Rufus A. Grider, *flute*.”

## 4

Letter and receipt by Gustavus Hesselius, relative to the Bethlehem organ of 1744.

To the Reverend Mr. Pyrlaeus, Bethlehem.

Philadelphia, May 28, 1744.

*My dear Brother:* I salute you heartily. I am glad to hear of your welfare. I hope Mr. Klemm will see the Organ all safe to your hands. If you please to pay him the remainder of the money, which is 14 pd. 9 sh., I shall be very much obliged to you. The rest of the money, the eleven pd., for my part, you may send it to me when you can and have opportunity. My love to you and all the Brethren.

I remain your humble servant and poor Brother,

G. HESSELIUS.

Received June 9, 1746, of Jasper Payne, Four pounds, viz. Three pounds for the half set of pipes, and one pound for coming and putting the organ up.

JOHN CLEM, Organmaker.

Received June 10, 1746, of Jasper Payne, Fourteen pounds Pennsylvania Currency for Gus. Hesselius.

JOHN CLEM, Organ Maker.

Philadelphia, June 26, 1746. Received of the Brethren in Bethlehem eleven pd. currency for an organ, being in full of all accounts. Witness my hands.

GUSTAVUS HESSELIUS.\*

\* Cf. Martin's *Historical Sketch of Bethlehem, Pennsylvania*. With Some Account of the Moravian Society. (1864).





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